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Prohibition After Eight Years

Is It Succeeding or Failing?

I.—The Official View of the Anti-Saloon League

By FRANCIS SCOTT McBRIDE

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ONLY superficial observers or those who are misled by their prejudices can doubt the steady increase in prohibition sentiment throughout this nation, for there are certain indicators which have a general and national significance, and if we rely on them rather than on an unrepresentative and purely local factor, we can obtain a satisfactory answer to the question whether America is more or less in favor of prohibition than it was a few years ago.

There is so much loose talk in barber shops, smoking cars and hotel lobbies that the silent listener may wonder, as he hears this talk, how prohibition can last until the next election. Rarely do these arguments touch any of the fundamental phases of the question. Especially do they ignore the most important—the moral issue. We are like the old Roman who declared, "I see the better and approve; I follow the worse." Especially do we "approve" the better at the ballot box. We vote according to the highest light we can see. We may be lawless, careless, selfish, immoral, any one of a number of quite unadmirable things, while we linger on the corner talking over things in general. But when we pull the curtain of the voting booth about us we feel as though we had entered a new *Sanctum Sanctorum*, a Holy of Holies, in which we rise to a higher dignity as sovereigns in a great republic. We cast our ballots—the great majority of us—as under a sacred obligation. The moral purpose then looms over us as supremely significant. The future of the nation and the hope of the race

are dependent upon our official act as citizens.

Among the ideals of the present day few are more nearly right, basically, than prohibition. It makes its appeal as a moral crusade. Its difficulties are temporary. Its rightness is eternal. The inability of any sophistry to justify a traffic that is essentially lawless; whose finished products are drunkenness, misery, crime, lunacy and death, is self-evident. That is why, throughout the past, the majority vote of the wettest sections of many cities has been cast for no-license in local option campaigns. A moral issue will carry more precincts than any issue that involves recognizing, regulating, legalizing a policy in which vice is inherent.

There is a second element that cannot be ignored, if we hope to reach the truth; that is the economic factor. Even those who want a drink, want also to be prosperous. Our greatest business authorities have warned us that if we return our former drink bill of \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000 yearly to the liquor trade, plus the additional \$1,000,000,000 or so that would probably be added because of our increased population, we must deduct at least that much from our legitimate businesses. Trade cannot afford to lose that much money. Industry cannot afford the inevitable slackening of production. Even the dullest of our voters know that prohibition and prosperity are inextricably interwoven. We may talk at random, but when we vote we vote for the right thing, right economically and right morally.

A third significant factor, equally ignored, is to find an alternative to prohibition. The opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment have a great variety of substitutes to suggest. Each Wet plan has its own group of advocates. Every such group denounces all plans except its own. Probably no Dry is more ardent in his assault on any single proposal than are the Wet advocates of some other proposal. The prohibitionists are united in agreeing that the beverage sale of alcoholic products should be outlawed. Their opponents are divided into a score or two of factions. Before the majority will of this nation will consider any change in the present official attitude toward liquor, it must know what change is proposed, whether it has ever been tried, how it has worked, and what are the probabilities of its working better than or as well as prohibition.

THE WOMAN VOTE

The woman vote is more important than these three factors. It includes them. Woman has the home to safeguard, the family to consider. She wants safety, assurance for the future, comfort, many things to which liquor is the foe. She does not raise her boy or girl to be a drunkard. One single Woman's Law Enforcement society is made up of federated woman's organizations having a membership exceeding 10,000,000. It would take hundreds of thousands of Beer Pitcher clubs—such as the Wet group vainly try to organize—to match this single potent force among American women. There are not enough women left outside this one federation to furnish the membership if such a Wet drive were made. This is the last and most significant of the factors that must be reckoned with if we seriously attempt to estimate the trend of popular sentiment.

These four factors have found their expression not once but several times, not casually but officially, since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. The best popular referendums on any national issue are found in the election of Congressmen. The Congressional districts are small enough to insure a certain definite local expression. They are large enough to prevent that expression being purely parochial. Taken together, they give a national response to any public question. In each Congressional election since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment the Dry majorities in House and Senate have been increased. Not only is this true, but in both branches the proportion of Dry mem-

bers is about the same in both parties. Today 70 per cent. of the Republicans and 76 per cent. of the Democrats in the Senate and 72 per cent. of the Republicans and 71 per cent. of the Democrats in the House by their public utterances or by their past records are acceptable to the Dry forces. This is a fair political indication of the prohibition sentiment in the nation. It does not suggest that such sentiment is decreasing or even merely holding its own. It does show a steady progress and growth.

Some of the members of Congress are chosen "at large," being voted upon by an entire State and not merely by a small Congressional district. Among such Congressmen-at-Large there are two from Illinois, Representatives Henry R. Rathbone, and Richard Yates. Both are Drys. The latter is an especially outspoken Dry. They were opposed at the last election, as in former elections, by opponents of prohibition. Rathbone and Yates received majorities of about 350,000. In the same year there was a straw vote, a non-legal and non-binding referendum on prohibition, held in Illinois. Because it was meaningless and ineffective, the Dry forces declined to waste their time, money or effort in participating in a meaningless gesture. Instead, they pointed to the election of Congressmen-at-Large as the best State-wide test of prohibition sentiment. The big majorities of their candidates are expressive.

There are other referendum votes which interest the prohibition forces. Four such votes were taken in 1926. The repeal of State prohibition codes was balloted upon in California, Colorado, Missouri and Montana. The question of the rigor or the weakness of the codes was not in dispute. The issue was straight Wet and Dry, clear-cut, without any subterfuge. The Wets, naturally, claimed a probable victory in each State. California doubled her previous Dry majority and retained her State code by 63,000. The record of this State is both interesting and illuminating when one discusses the increase or decrease of prohibition sentiment. The State voted Wet by 65,000 in 1920. Then the tide turned and it voted Dry by the following majorities in three years: 1922, 33,000, and in 1926, 63,000.

Colorado also spoke out clearly in the same year on the same question, voting by over 35,000 to retain her State enforcement code in spite of the desperate efforts of the Wets to persuade her citizens that it should be repealed. Missouri, however, was one of the most significant illustra-



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Wets in the majority by only 10,249 out of 156,213.

MANY DRY STATES

While there are many States where every candidate for public office, from the Governor down to the dog-catcher in a village, is a Dry, these States may be omitted from our study, since they are so Dry politically that there is not even an eddy in popular sentiment on this question. Two States may be taken as outstanding illustrations. One is Massachusetts, a fair State for test purposes. It has many cities. Its foreign born and the children of the foreign born outnumber the older American stock. It has intense religious activity of all shades—Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. It has even quite a large atheist element. In the election the Republican candidate for United States Senator and the Democratic candidate were equally chary of making any clear-cut utterances on prohibition. Apparently they both played safe. The Democrat was elected. The Republican candidate for Governor was outspokenly Dry. Some of his best supporters questioned the wisdom of appeals to voters that were based so largely on prohibition. The results justified the Governor's methods. His vote was record-breaking, leading the whole ticket by a wide margin.

The same thing was true in Pennsylvania, where a Governor who was unqualifiedly Dry made his position meticulously clear to the voters, who gave him a majority of 719,000, the largest ever given a Governor in Pennsylvania. It was true in California, where the most outspoken Dry was elected Governor by a sweeping vote, leading his ticket by 100,000. It has frequently been true in Ohio, where the people have scratched the Wets off their party tickets and have voted for Drys only, until some of Ohio's election returns look like a series of zigzags, showing where the lightning hit the Wets and killed them off politically.

In Congress the Wets can rarely rally a corporal's guard against any Dry legislation. They introduce a mass of bills, gain front-page publicity in the anti-prohibition press, indulge in flamboyant oratory at public hearings, but never have a chance to vote on these bills, which are forgotten in some committee which has real business to do. When the prohibition enforcement measures are presented for vote the absentees among supposed Wet champions are numerous. It is far safer to be listed "Absent: Not voting," than to be recorded

tions of the current popular attitude on this question. The foes of prohibition claimed the State long before the election, but, to their dismay, the politicians suddenly became discreet. They either opposed the repeal of the law or were so ambiguous and non-committal that they could not be quoted in its opposition. They did not care to assume a position radically opposed to the sentiment of their State. Feeling that the repeal movement was doomed to a terrific defeat, they saw no reason for going down with the ship. The vote justified their discretion. Missouri, by a majority of about 170,000, repudiated the attempt to wipe out her prohibition enforcement laws.

Montana voted to repeal her law. The Wets are entitled to all the comfort they can get out of that fact. No argument could persuade many of the religious and moral leaders of Montana that their law was in peril. It was on the statute books and they felt that practically "everybody" favored keeping it there. They were so sure about that that hosts of them did not trouble to go to the polls. The result was one of the smallest votes Montana has cast on an important public question, with the

as voting "No" on a prohibition bill. Then no ghost will arise from the past to confront the statesman when he changes his mind, as many have in the past six or seven years, and becomes a defender instead of an opponent of prohibition.

SENATORS' DISCRETION

An amusing commentary on this may be read in the records of the Senate when the proposed cloture was before it. Rarely in our national history has the cloture been invoked. Senators are jealous of any interference with their rights to debate indefinitely. Besides, a filibuster may defeat a bill when votes cannot. Only four times has the Senate voted to invoke the cloture. The last occasion was when this action was necessary to pass the Prohibition Reorganization bill. Only twenty-seven votes were cast against the cloture. Among those voting for it were several not counted as friends by the Drys. Some of them had even been acclaimed by the Wets as their champions. It was small wonder that a Senator from Maryland arose and denounced his former colleagues in opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment and rather futilely threatened them with the wrath of a society fighting the Dry law, but his wrath and his threat availed nothing. There were too many voters watching the record of their Senators on this question. Popular sentiment, even in the Wettest States, was still far too Dry and getting much too

Dry yearly for them to jeopardize their seats. So they voted, with their Dry brethren, for the cloture that made possible more laws to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment.

To the genuine student of American affairs there can be no serious question concerning the mind of the American people on the liquor question. Hardly a voice is raised anywhere in defense of intoxicants. The foes of prohibition are reduced to extremities to find an argument in behalf of their forbidden beverages. They join in denouncing the saloon, which, it is commonly admitted, was the best method men have devised of handling the sale of liquor. They claim as non-intoxicating beverages on which men have got drunk ever since they were first invented. They insist that drunkenness is universal; contend that millions of illicit stills exist; urge that youth is debased and the whole social fabric is being undermined by illicit liquor. The average citizen reads all this in his favorite newspapers, observes that he has not seen a drunken man for months, recalls his own youth, and thanks God that his children are living under different social conditions, dismisses the Wet appeals as so much brewers' propaganda and adds one more vote to the growing Dry majority the next time he goes to the ballot box. This nation is Dry. It is getting Drier. It will be the Driest nation the world has ever seen. Nothing can stop that.

II.—The Official View of the Anti-Prohibition Association

By WILLIAM H. STAYTON

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WE have just passed the eighth anniversary of the national prohibition experiment and it is apparent to all observers that the Dry forces lack that enthusiasm with which a winner is usually imbued. Instead of telling us of their accomplishments in terms of decreased death rates from alcoholism, decreased arrests for drunkenness, empty jails, decreased seizures of liquors, stills and liquor making apparatus, farmer prosperity, and in terms of temperance and sobriety in general, we are being told that prohibition is "still on trial," that "prohibition has never had a chance," that "it has suffered from con-

stant criticism from both its friends and foes," and that "there should be no let-up in the fight for Volsteadism," as the promised benefits are just in the offing, and all that is needed to bring about the millennium is "another" reorganization of the Federal prohibition forces and "the united support of all American citizens."

It is evident that the public no longer accepts the pleadings of the Drys without inquiring into the soundness of their arguments; nor is there any doubt in the minds of the Drys, apparently, that a crisis has been reached in their fight for national prohibition. All this, of course, has been

brought about by the decided change in the attitude of the public, as analysis will show. For this purpose we may divide the people into four classes, namely, the old anti-prohibitionists, the old prohibitionists, the middle-of-the-road group and the masses.

The anti-prohibitionists group might well be divided into those who opposed national prohibition for selfish reasons, those who opposed it for constitutional reasons and those who opposed its enactment, but who were willing to accept it with the hope that the promised blessings would soon be forthcoming. Those who opposed national prohibition for selfish reasons may be still further subdivided into the drinkers and those who were financially interested in the liquor business.

As to the drinkers, we find that they continue to drink. They are drinking liquor that is improperly made under insanitary and unregulated conditions and that contains violent poisons to such an extent that the deaths from strong drink, according to the United States Census Bureau, had up to 1926 increased to almost 300 per cent. of the number in 1920. Before prohibition it was the contention of the Drys that drinking would diminish rapidly. They claimed that the "old soaks" would soon die off and that the new generations, not knowing anything of the "old days," would be abstainers. This is just one of the many predictions made by the Drys which have not materialized. Drinking among the young people today is a much more serious menace to the country than any which confronted us in the days of the saloon, and more people are condemning prohibition for this reason than for any other. Evidence of the increased drinking among the younger people is at hand on all sides. We are told by Judges of juvenile courts that never in the history of our country has the number of intoxicated children brought into courts been so great. Within the past few months a group of prominent "Dry Georgia" jurists, after an investigation of the "alarming growth of juvenile crimes within the State," said: "Most crimes of violence heard before our courts were committed by young persons under 25 years of age, and in most cases the perpetrators were under the influence of bootleg liquor." Arrests for intoxication have been increasing steadily since 1920, according to police records, in most of the cities of the country, while arrests of minors for this cause have grown to an alarming degree. In the city of Washington the police records indicate that the arrests for drunk-

enness of persons under 22 years of age have increased more than 200 per cent. since 1919. If the conditions existing today are permitted to continue, we may well fear that the hard liquor drinking habit will soon have such a strong grip on our younger generation that very many years will be lost before we get back to the point we had reached in 1919 in our fight for temperance. Among the drinkers, therefore, we find that many of the "old soaks" have died off, but we have no evidence to indicate any great number of drinkers in the pre-prohibition period who are not drinkers today; and to that large body of drinkers we find that great numbers of young men and women must be added. The opinion of this group against national prohibition is consequently much stronger, much more militant and more determined than it was eight years ago.

THE NEW LIQUOR INTERESTS

In the old days those financially interested in the liquor business were well organized. But their political tactics supplied the Prohibitionists with the greatest amount of ammunition, and consequently the so-called "liquor interests" suffered because of their political record. Today we find that many who were engaged in some form of liquor business eight years ago have different interests. Some, and probably the majority, have gone into other businesses. Many are still holding their investments and working for a change in the present law which will permit them to resume operations. Organizations are still maintained but the revenue for their support has necessarily been curtailed. A great number of those formerly engaged in some branch of the liquor business have found bootlegging profitable. And this illegal business in its numerous ramifications from the manufacturer to the retailer has attracted large numbers of men and women who eight years ago had no connection with the liquor business. The wine grape growers who thought that they were doomed with the coming of national prohibition have found that the demand for their product has doubled and that the prices they receive have quadrupled. Naturally, many of them favor the continuance of national prohibition. The attitude of the group financially interested in the liquor business has changed considerably. The ranks of those formerly in the business have been depleted, but those who are now engaged in the illegal traffic find it to their interest to favor the present laws. Consequently it

would seem that the opposition of this group is much less than it was eight years ago.

The second group of the anti-prohibitionists, those who opposed national prohibition because they believed that certain fundamental principles of government were being violated by its enactment, has grown enormously in the past eight years. Before the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment no amendment to the Constitution had in any way trespassed upon those unalienable rights of the individual which were guaranteed to the people by the old Constitution. As late as 1907 Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, in *Turner vs. Williams*, 194 U. S. 289, held that "the powers the people have given the General Government are named in the Constitution, and all not there named, either expressly or by implication, are reserved to the people and can be exercised only by them, or upon further grant from them." The Eighteenth Amendment, proposed by Congress, was submitted to the Legislatures of the States for ratification instead of to conventions of the people elected for the specified purpose. As a result the only people who voted for the adoption of the amendments were 5,081 members of State Legislatures and 347 Senators and Congressmen, a total of 5,428 voters, none of whom had been elected on this specific issue. Observe that this was no ordinary matter on which these representatives were voting. It was the first time since Runnymede (1216 A. D.) that representatives of the people had consented to surrender the rights won from kings and tyrants and guaranteed by the great charters of liberty; or that those defending the Bill of Rights had quit fighting and hoisted a white flag.

Vital principles or provisions affecting the individual should be changed only by the people themselves, not by Legislatures. If the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment was right, then it is possible—and right—for 1,205 State legislators plus 179 Senators and Congressmen, a total of only 1,384, (two-thirds of a quorum of both Houses of Congress plus a majority of a quorum of each House of thirty-six State Legislatures) without instructions, or even against the positive instructions of all the voters, further to amend the Constitution of the Fathers so as to take away from our people numbering 120,000,000 the right of property, or of free speech, or the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. In good morals no such right ever existed in our Representatives. We should beware of amendments and of im-

providently granting power to make them. How wise and how far-seeing was Washington, when, having presided over the convention that wrote the old Constitution, he said: "One method of assault may be to effect in the form of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energies of the system and thus undermine what cannot be directly overthrown." Before the proposal of the Eighteenth Amendment there had been no urgent demand for organized effort for the protection of the rights of citizens; consequently the advocates of national prohibition met little opposition from this group. Many organizations have, however, since interested themselves in the constitutional rights of the people. They have carried on campaigns which have brought to the attention of the country the fundamental principles upon which our Government was founded. And today we find that the small group which opposed the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment for constitutional reasons has grown to the point where its voice is not only heard but respected.

AN EXPERIMENTAL CHANGE

The third group of the old anti-prohibitionists was made up of those who felt that national prohibition was not the solution for the ills of the liquor traffic, but who were willing to sit by and give the experiment an opportunity, hoping that the promised blessings would be forthcoming. Men of prominence in the industrial, professional and financial world belonged to this group. Such men do not like changes; they want stability and they have hoped against hope that this law might develop at least some good points, but the time has come when even these men agree that patience has ceased to be a virtue, and prompt action must be taken to restore to the country some semblance of reasonableness in the matter of regulating the liquor traffic. They have taken this stand because they remember that when national prohibition was in the making many sincere people worked for its passage confident that it would abolish the saloon; greatly diminish and substantially banish drunkenness; lessen the number of deaths from strong drink, and decrease crime of all sorts. No one need dispute the necessity for laws nor question the purpose or motive of the Eighteenth Amendment, but all may well ask how the just mentioned purposes of the Eighteenth Amendment have worked out in practice.

The licensed saloon has disappeared be-



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cause no licenses are granted, but the sale of intoxicating liquors by the unlicensed and unsupervised saloon, the bootlegger, the speakeasy and the blind pig is as widespread as ever. For instance, in the pre-prohibition years there were about 400 distilleries in the United States, but in seven years since 1920 the Treasury Department has reported the seizure of 79,437 distilleries and 93,821 stills. General Andrews, former Prohibition Commissioner, has estimated that not more than one-tenth of the bootlegging distilleries and stills are seized. At the same time the bootlegger has taken the place of the barkeeper, who had at least one virtue, in that he remained stationary and did not go out looking for customers and tempting those with strength enough to keep away from the bar. But the ubiquitous and conscienceless bootlegger infests the office, the home and the school.

Drunkenness can certainly be measured to some degree by the number of arrests for drunkenness. The Moderation League of New York has compiled from the records of the Police Departments in 534 cities sta-

tistics to show that the number of arrests for intoxication in these cities has increased from 281,651 in 1920 to 664,101 in 1926. We also find that the death rate from alcoholism (not poisoned alcohol), which was mentioned above, has been on the increase ever since national prohibition went into effect. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, for example, reports that the death rate from alcoholism among its industrial policy holders in the United States was nine times as high in 1927 as it was among its industrial policy holders in Canada, where the seven largest Provinces have repudiated prohibition in one form or another and have adopted systems of Government regulation and control.

Crimes of all kinds have risen steadily since 1920. According to statistics compiled by the Anti-Saloon League from the records of Police Departments in 300 of the largest cities of the country there were 1,633,000 arrests for all causes in 1919, the last Wet year, and after increasing steadily for three years the total number of arrests had reached in 1923, the fourth Dry year, 2,317,000. The Anti-Saloon League ceased to publish figures after 1923.

Since the principal benefits that the Eighteenth Amendment was to confer have not been secured, many people have come to the conclusion that patience has ceased to be a virtue and that we cannot continue under the present system.

The Prohibitionists still brand those who disagree with them as the "liquor interests" despite the fact that today the largest organizations fighting for the repeal of National Prohibition are made up of men and women who are not financially interested in the return of alcoholic beverages, but who are interested in the preservation of the rights and liberties of the individual and the welfare of the country as a whole. The Prohibitionists still emphasize the evils of the old saloon, but at the same time close their eyes to the evils of the bootlegger and the speakeasy.

The Drys over a long period of years built up an organization which reached into every State, every Congressional District and almost every county in the country. Their alliance with certain religious elements gave them entry into territories which could not have been reached in any other way, and provided a medium for the distribution of their propaganda as well as the necessary collecting agency for funds. The Anti-Saloon League, the largest of the Dry organizations, was founded in 1893. According to its own records, up to 1919

more than \$50,000,000 was expended in securing National Prohibition legislation. Between 1920 and 1925 (inclusive) \$13,000,000 more was expended. Some idea of the tremendous amount of propaganda which has been distributed by the Anti-Saloon League can be gathered from a report of one of its officers, who, in commenting on the amount of literature published, said in January, 1925: "The periodicals, measured in ordinary book pages of temperance literature, are the equivalent of 7,407,543,792 such pages, which at the rate of 500 pages per volume, would make a library of 15,000,000 volumes." The Anti-Saloon League has been aided in its fight by many allied organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals. Is there any wonder that an organization such as this should secure the balance of power in many Congressional districts at a time when the only organized opposition of the Wets came from those who were financially interested?

In contrast with the optimism of the old Prohibitionists, who believed that America would become a sober nation, we find that after eight years of National Prohibition we must record the following results besides those already mentioned: Tremendous loss of revenue to the Government, investment of the control of the liquor traffic in rum rings and their allies; general violation of the prohibition laws in every station of society, in official and unofficial life; stimulated and growing disrespect for all law; jails and penitentiaries filled to overflowing and many thousands awaiting trial; no known decrease in the volume of hard liquor available (see General Andrews's statement before Appropriation Committee Nov. 18, 1926); general increase in appropriations for attempted enforcement, which must be reflected in the tax burdens of the people; crime and corruption among employees of the prohibition unit, resulting in the dismissal of approximately 25 per cent. of them; searches and seizures and raiding of private homes, assault, abuse and even murder in utter disregard of all laws; the development of an intolerant spirit which has inevitably provoked a corresponding reaction against our laws and institutions; a constant depreciation of farm values since 1920, to which the prohibition policies of the Government have been a contributing factor; loss of prestige and spiritual influence of the evangelical churches, and the intolerable interference in governmental affairs generally of an

organized body that seeks to force its fanatical and dictatorial will upon our public officials, from the President of the United States down, and to pillory politically any who refuse to yield.

ADMISSIONS BY DRYS

It is obvious that we are much further from the promised blessings of National Prohibition than we were eight years ago. The Drys themselves admit that present conditions are unsatisfactory. For instance, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in their report of September, 1925, said: "If infractions of the law incident to the retail trade of liquor should continue on the present scale, nothing but a sweeping change in public opinion can prevent the effectual nullification of the National Prohibition act." The ranks of the old Drys have been depleted. It is a fact that the Dry organizations do not have access to as many churches as they had in 1919. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, announcing the result of a recent survey of prohibition sentiment made by Winslow Russell of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, reported that more than 1,600 ballots were sent to members of a women's club, a men's club, a country club, to sales executives, and to the Directors of a State Chamber of Commerce, that 782 ballots were returned, and that the survey showed that, whereas the voters had been evenly divided as to the desirability of the Eighteenth Amendment before its passage (381 in favor and 379 against), now only 238 favored its continuance and 438 were opposed to it. Although the legitimate ranks of the Drys have become smaller, the ranks of those who favor National Prohibition have been augmented by the addition of those who are now engaged in the illegal liquor traffic and by others who have found that National Prohibition is financially agreeable.

The middle of the road group, though taking no active part in the adoption of National Prohibition, was more or less inclined to give it a chance and await developments. The developments of the past eight years have been so pronounced that this group, more or less, has been unable to remain in the middle of the road and its members are now aligned with one side or the other with their alignment favoring the side of the masses.

The masses of the people likewise had no part in the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. To a great extent it was not

interested. There was another issue, the war, which absorbed their attention at the time when Congressional activity on the subject of National Prohibition was at its height. It was not long after its enactment, however, before the masses began to feel its effects. The desire and demand for alcoholic beverages had not diminished, and soon the bootlegger came into his own, and soon many were making their own supplies. Today we find the bootlegging industry organized on a tremendous scale in all parts of the country, and the home brewers, distillers and wine makers becoming more and more efficient as they profit by their illegal experiences. The attitude of the masses is reflected in their actions, and their actions indicate that there is wholesale disrespect for the law. Their attitude is reflected in the many referendums which have been held during the past eight years and in the news columns of the newspapers. These newspapers, in their editorial policies, reflect the attitude of the public on the question of National Prohibition. Resolutions of disapproval have been adopted by organizations all over the country. National and State labor unions have expressed their dissatisfaction; national and State medical associations have condemned it; bar associations, State Legislatures and city councils have adopted resolutions deploring the present situation. All this reflects the attitude of the masses.

PROHIBITION UNPOPULAR

The most convincing tests of sentiment have fallen into two categories—straw votes conducted by the press and referendum elections. In 1922 the *Literary Digest* poll brought out a total vote of 905,004, of which 550,364 were for modification or repeal and 354,740 for enforcement. In that same year, after only two years of National Prohibition, Illinois voted on the question whether wines and beer ought to be permitted for home consumption. The result was 1,065,242 in favor and 512,111 opposed. Four years later, in the Spring of 1926, more than 400 newspapers in every State of the Union conducted a most comprehensive poll. The result was overwhelming—more than five votes for repeal or modification to every one for a continuance of the Volstead régime. The actual results were: For prohibition, 687,376; against prohibition, 3,705,092. In November, 1926, eight States, New York, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Montana, Colorado, Nevada and California, comprising 25 per cent. of the population and representing a cross-section of the country,

voted on some phase of the Wet and Dry question. Many of the questions submitted were not suited to bring out the entire vote, yet more than 6,660,000 votes were cast, of which 60 per cent. were recorded as Wet. A special Congressional election was held in the Denver District of Colorado in November of last year. This district, normally, is Republican by at least 7,000. The Democrats before the election adopted a modification plank in their platform. Their candidate was elected by a majority of approximately 5,000 votes. In addition to newspaper polls and referendum elections there have been many surveys of the results of National Prohibition made by organizations, newspapers and other periodicals and individuals. These surveys invariably indicate that conditions under National Prohibition are unsatisfactory. In view of these expressions of public opinion can there be any doubt as to the attitude of the masses?

In summing up the attitude of the public we find that neither the Wets nor the Drys are satisfied with present conditions. The Drys after eight years of fruitless effort in attempting to force prohibition upon the nation are beginning to realize that it is necessary to convince the soul on the matter of temperance. To me this is an admission of the failure and an attempt to win back many of the misguided temperance advocates who originally supported the cause of the Drys, but who have come to realize that their tactics are faulty. The organized Wets, on the other hand, have grown rapidly during the past eight years. Their organizations are made up of men and women whose standing and purpose cannot be questioned. The masses have expressed their disapproval of National Prohibition in no uncertain terms. The evil fruits of attempted enforcement have made enemies of many men and women who at first supported the law because it is the law. They have had to yield to an overpowering weight of evidence. They see increasing drunkenness, increasing deaths, increasing violations of the prohibition laws. They see old crimes undiminished and the prohibition laws a fertile source of new crimes. And they see the unpalatable efforts of a corrupt enforcement service engaged in spying, informing, violence and unlawful search and seizure. It is this opinion of the masses that will cause the defeat of this social experiment with which we have been living for eight years, for, after all, no law affecting the habits and customs of 120,000,000 of people can survive without the overwhelming support of the masses.

III.—Enforcement an Increasing Success

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THE enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act calls for nothing new in legal philosophy. It requires nothing unique in criminal law. It demands nothing in criminal procedure. The existing enforcement machinery is adequate for its purposes. It is possible to have sincere and effective enforcement of both the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act throughout the United States and all territory subject to its jurisdiction.

At the very outset two terms need to be defined. They are "prohibition" and "enforcement." They delimit the extent of our problem. They aid in solving the problem itself.

The Eighteenth Amendment defines "prohibition" in clear, concise and adequate language. It states that " * * * the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes is hereby forbidden." The meaning of this section is inescapable. Prohibition means simply that no one is permitted to make, sell or carry about intoxicating drinks for beverage purposes.

"Enforcement" means three things. The first is a statement of the types of conduct which are permitted or forbidden. The Eighteenth Amendment is prohibitory in its first section. It is permissive in its second section when it states that "the Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." The Volstead act contains both prohibitory and permissive provisions. It defines "intoxicating liquors" and prohibits their use for beverage purposes. But it permits of their use, under regulation, for ecclesiastical, medicinal and economic purposes. Limits of conduct are set in accordance with the ideas of Congress as to what constitutes the purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The second meaning of "enforcement" is obedience to the laws as enacted. The duty of obedience is imposed upon all those who are subject to the law-making authorities. Concerning the Eighteenth Amendment the United States Supreme Court has said:

"This amendment is operative throughout the entire territorial limits of the United States, binds all legislative bodies, courts, public officers and individuals within those limits, and of its own force invalidates every legislative act, whether by Congress, by a State Legislature or by a Territorial Assembly, which authorizes or sanctions what the amendment prohibits." (National Prohibition Cases, 253 U. S., 350.) No one, therefore, is above or outside of the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Volstead act has the same sweeping scope of authority. It is Federal legislation which is designed to make operative and effective a constitutional provision. No one can claim immunity from its provisions. Everybody without exception within the United States or places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States must obey the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act.

The third meaning of "enforcement" is coercion. Those who cannot be *persuaded* to obey the laws must be *compelled* to obey them. Ours is a "government of laws and not of men." Connivance in law violation is the beginning of anarchy. This cannot be tolerated. Behind the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act in time of ultimate need is the full military power of the entire nation. He who flouts them must reckon with that power.

Has prohibition been sincerely enforced? No all-inclusive answer can be given to this question. Each of the several factors involved must be examined by itself. Each factor has gone through a historical evolution in the past eight years. Nor has the process stopped. Any conclusions reached, therefore, must be tentative.

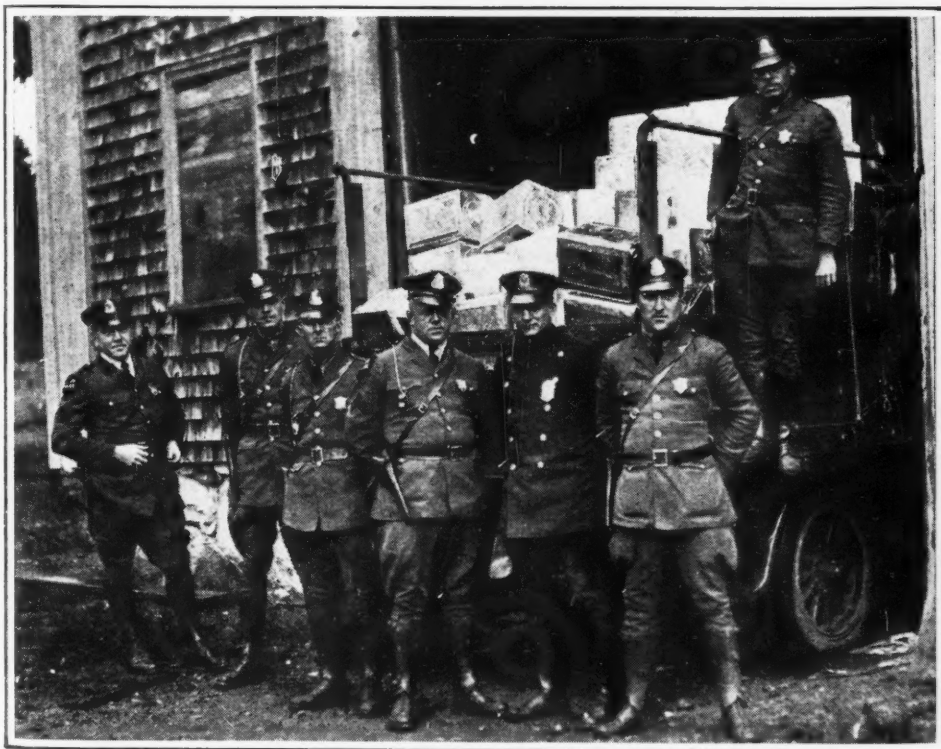
"Sincere" means genuine and honest. There can be nothing more genuine and honest than the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act. The lines of conduct which must be followed by law-abiding citizens are clearly demarked. Forty-six States ratified the amendment, Rhode Island and Connecticut did not ratify. All the States passed enforcement acts to aid in the concurrent enforcement of the amendment. New York is the only State which has repealed its prohibition enforcement act. Apparently the people in their

capacities as citizens of the several States were sincere in upholding their actions as citizens of the United States. The Federal authorities were also sincere in setting up the machinery for the administration of the prohibition laws. The National Prohibition act was approved on Oct. 28, 1919. Within two months the permanent organization of the Prohibition Unit had been effected. This organization has been modified from time to time as the needs of the changing situation demanded. But an organization is no better than its personnel. When the personnel of the Prohibition Unit is examined sincerity practically disappears. There are several reasons for this.

PROHIBITION "PORK BARREL"

In the first place, salaries were too low. They did not attract capable and experienced men. Men of little or no experience had to be appointed. Secondly, preference was given to honorably discharged members of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps. Pseudo-patriotism became the test of appointment. Thirdly, the blight of "patron-

age" made sincerity of organization impossible. Senators and Congressmen had declined to vote for the Volstead act unless the power of appointment to the Prohibition Unit was put into their respective hands. Politicians looked upon prohibition as another "pork barrel." From Cabinet officers down to ward-healers appointment to the Prohibition Unit became a way of paying political debts. The result was inevitable. The Unit was packed with political appointees. These included thieves, crooks, grafters, and in some cases even murderers. In these circumstances sincerity was impossible. Extortion, solicitation of money, bribery and collusion in law violation were common occurrences. On Jan. 1, 1926, General Lincoln C. Andrews reported that 875 members of his force had been discharged for malfeasance in office. This represented about 25 per cent. of the then prohibition personnel and about 10 per cent. of the entire number of persons who had come and gone in the service of the Prohibition Unit. His detailed figures are illuminating. The following table



Underwood.
Massachusetts State Police With a Truck-Load of Liquor Taken in a Raid



Underwood.

Raid by Federal Agents on the Home of a Politician in New York State
and the Hotel Owned by Him

gives the number of persons discharged and the reason for their dismissal from the service:

REASON FOR DISMISSAL	NUMBER DISMISSED
Extortion, soliciting money, bribery.....	123
Collusion and conspiracy.....	71
Illegal disposition of liquor and other property	46
Intoxication and general misconduct.....	215
Falsification of expense accounts.....	83
Theft	11
Failure to file income tax return.....	1
Former criminal records.....	2
Assault	9
Perjury and subornation of perjury.....	6
Contempt of court.....	6
Issuing of worthless checks.....	1
Embezzlement	6
Misuse of firearms.....	3
Acceptance of gratuities.....	7
Robbery of a warehouse.....	8
Submission of false reports.....	22
Disclosing of confidential information.....	13
Violation of the National Prohibition Act	8
Unsatisfactory service, insubordination and various derelictions of duty.....	172

It is fair to suppose that not all those who failed in their oath of office were caught and of those caught not all were discharged or otherwise punished. Political "pull" has saved more than one. General Andrews in his statements before the

Senate Investigation Committee of 1926 made it quite clear that he was hampered by the politicians both in enforcing the law and in dealing with his subordinates who had been guilty of misconduct in office. Major Chester Mills, formerly Prohibition Director of the District of New York, has also demonstrated that sincerity of dealing with members of the Prohibition Unit was made impossible by self-seeking and grafting politicians in and out of public office. Of course, not all the personnel of the Prohibition Unit were dishonest. But the honest ones were in the minority and their best efforts were nullified by the protection given to the dishonest ones. However, conditions are better now than they were. The Prohibition Unit has been put under the Civil Service Commission. So far as it is possible to do so political influence in the appointment of members of the unit has been minimized.

The situation in the several States was and is infinitely worse than the Federal situation. Local enforcement is with very rare exceptions very insincere. This is due to the fact that practically all the local enforcement officers are themselves Wet.

This is as true of the so-called Dry States as of the Wet ones. It is nothing unusual to find that the sheriff was himself a bootlegger or in quiet partnership with those who were. Chiefs of police and commissioners of public safety give "Wet parties." Prosecuting attorneys are bravely vociferous against some petty offenders against the Volstead Act and especially so if the latter are Italians, Poles or Scandinavians. But the big offenders, the prosperous business men of the community, the fraternal clubs and the political organizations are allowed to violate the law with impunity. Police officers are drunk on duty. Judges impose a light fine on some bootleggers brought before them for sentence and then retire to their "chambers" to drink the liquor which the same bootlegger has sold to them.

It is the same story everywhere. The politicians are Wet, not only because of their personal habits, which have not been altered by the prohibition laws, but also because it *pays* to be Wet. Graft, hush-money, protection-money are nothing new in politics. Prohibition was simply seized upon as another means of exercising the

ancient and dishonorable game of prostituting public office to private gain. The local organization of the coercive factor in enforcement is almost entirely insincere. A report of the Department of Commerce which dealt with the cost of city and State government in 1925 shows that the total sum spent by all the State and local agencies for the enforcement of prohibition was only \$700,000. This was less than one-fifth of the amount spent by the same agencies for fish and game wardens. When no money is available for the prosecution of offenders, when officers of the law are in lucrative partnership with the violators of the law, it is foolish to believe that the coercive element of enforcement is sincere.

Yet, in spite of the insincerity of politicians and officials, in spite of all their efforts to nullify the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act, in spite of their practical partnership with the liquor industry, which is still alive and functioning, the third factor in enforcement, obedience to law, has been eminently sincere. When the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified the people throughout the country accepted it as a



Underwood.

Destruction of \$75,000 Worth of Wines and Other Liquors Seized in New York

fact that prohibition had come to stay. Generally speaking, a very great majority of the people for various reasons gave their whole-hearted allegiance to the prohibition laws. Many of those who had been bitter opponents of the prohibition movement ceased their efforts and publicly announced their determination to abide by the Eighteenth Amendment and to aid in the enforcement of the Volstead act. The rank and file of people followed the lead given. Only a minority of the people failed to obey the prohibition laws. This minority was at first secretive and silent. When it was seen, however, that the coercive factor in enforcement was insincerely operative the silent minority became more and more clamorous. At the present time it has reached its most intense state of belligerency, but it still remains a minority of public opinion.

MORE EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT

It must not be assumed that the coercive organization of the country has been totally inactive. On the contrary, it has functioned with increasing efficiency. Authoritative and definite details as to the activities of State officials cannot be secured, but the Federal figures are available. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue reports an increasing yearly number of arrests. In 1921 there were 34,175 persons arrested for violation of the prohibition laws. In 1926 this number had increased to 72,175 as a result of more intensive attention to duty on the part of the prohibition personnel.

The control of breweries shows the same increasing efficiency. In 1922 there were approximately 500 cereal manufacturing plants operating throughout the country. In that year over 200 of them were reported for violating the law. Of these, 125 were placed under seizure, 48 were refused further permits because of former violation of the law and 38 pleaded guilty to the charges against them and were closed. In 1923, 128 were found to be operating without permits. Action was taken against them and against other breweries which were found to be storing illegal beer. In 1924, libels were filed against 56 breweries which had been seized for illegal operation and 19 were summarily closed by injunction proceedings. In 1925 property which was being used in illegal brewing was destroyed to the value of over \$225,000 and 37 breweries were seized and libels filed against them. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue makes it clear in his reports that the increasing number of suits against the

brewers "is a result of a more rigid enforcement rather than increased violations of the permit holders." He also makes it clear that "while the number of reports in brewery cases has also increased during the past year (i. e., 1922), this does not indicate a disregard of the law, but a more vigorous investigation of the activities of violators."

In 1923 the conspiracy sections of the Federal penal code and the injunction clauses of the Volstead act were invoked. The success in their use resulted in increasing prosecutions and punishment of violators of the law in the following four years. There has been an increasingly successful control of the manufacture of wine, distilled liquors and malt extracts. The details of this improvement can be found in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The coercive factor in prohibition enforcement is increasingly operative and increasingly sincere.

The effectiveness of a statute is found by comparing the purpose for which the statute was enacted and the extent to which that purpose has been realized. The purposes of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act are, first, to reduce the traffic in alcoholic liquors to the sacramental, medicinal and economic needs of the country and, second, to eliminate, so far as is humanly possible, the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. The extent to which these purposes have been realized is indicated by the reduction in the consumption of alcoholic liquors during the period prohibition has been in force.

It is impossible to make an exact estimate of the amount of intoxicating liquors which are being used annually for beverage purposes. A considerable amount of alcohol intended for manufacturing purposes is being diverted to the making of illegal beverages. There is also considerable "moon-shining" and "wild-cat brewing." Some smuggling of alcoholic liquors from Canada, Mexico, Cuba and the British possessions also exists. But no one knows how much illegal liquor is being made and consumed nor does any one know how many persons in the United States are occasional or constant users of intoxicating beverages. Figures based upon the number of persons arrested for drunkenness are entirely misleading. They are not accurately reported by the arresting authorities. They are not capable of being used to determine how much others beyond those arrested ordinarily drink. The best that can be done, therefore, in dealing with the present day

consumption of alcohol is to make a guess at it. Several such guesses have recently been made. Both the Wets and the Drys have published their guesses. A thoughtful student of the problems of prohibition must eliminate as untrustworthy many of these guesses, including the statements made by the Moderation League and the Society Against the Prohibition Amendment for the Wets and the official Year Book of the Anti-Saloon League. These are keenly parti-

represents a *per capita* consumption of 15.95 gallons. For the year 1926 Mr. Fox estimates that the total consumption of malt liquors, wines and distilled spirits was 922,714,511 gallons, that is, a *per capita* consumption, based upon a population of 110,000,000, of 8.38 gallons. These figures show a decrease in total consumption of over 750,000,000 gallons and a decrease in *per capita* consumption of nearly 50 per cent. But Mr. Fox makes the point that



Underwood.

Rum runners captured by the United States Coast Guard, tied up at a dock in Boston

san and inaccurate. But one Wet and two Dry estimates merit careful and thoughtful consideration in the light of some figures given by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his various annual reports.

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL

Hugh F. Fox, Secretary of the United States Brewery Association, compares the consumption of alcohol for the year ended June 30, 1918, with an estimated consumption for the year ended June 30, 1926. For 1918 he uses the figures in the Statistical Abstract issued by the United States Department of Commerce in 1919. He finds that in 1918 the total consumption of malt liquors, wines and distilled spirits, including imports, was 1,701,827,271 gallons. This

there has been a very great increase in the amount of wines and distilled liquors which are consumed, so that the amount of actual alcohol consumed increased from a *per capita* consumption of 1.039 gallons for 1918 to a *per capita* consumption of 1.431 gallons for 1926. He argues that in spite of the reduced gallonage there has been an increased consumption of alcohol. This is the best Wet estimate which has appeared in print.

The first of the two Dry estimates is that of Professor Irving Fisher. In his book, *Prohibition at Its Worst*, he presents an elaborate statistical analysis of the results of prohibition. In spite of a scathing attack upon him by Clarence Darrow in his book, *The Prohibition Mania*, Profes-

sor Fisher's figures stand substantially unimpeached. He says: "It seems safe to conclude that the total consumption today is certainly less than 16 per cent. of pre-prohibition consumption, probably less than 10 per cent. and possibly less than 5 per cent."

The second Dry estimate is that of Professor Feldmann of Dartmouth College, who in 1927 made a most exhaustive and searching investigation of the industrial and economic effects of prohibition. Professor Feldmann takes as his base of comparison of pre-prohibition and prohibition drinking the existence and disappearance of the saloons. He found that in 1913 there were over 150,000 saloons. These dispensed about 2,250,000,000 gallons of wines and beers. Prohibition, in wiping out the saloons, he says, wiped out this entire volume of drinking. He then shows that the volume of drinking done now cannot possibly be as great as the volume of drinking done then, because there is no place from which such a volume of liquor can come. "By no statistical legerdemain," he adds, "can the total supplied by bootleggers be made to come within a fraction of the former consumption."

The official reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue lend support to the Dry estimates. In his report for 1926 the Commissioner states that the amount of distilled spirits (exclusive of alcohol produced at industrial alcohol plants) was over 100,000,000 tax gallons in 1919, that this figure dropped to 82,333,000 tax gallons in 1920 and that in 1921 less than 3,000,000 tax gallons were produced. In 1926 production had dropped to slightly over 1,500,000 tax gallons. This means that the production of distilled spirits ready for consumption was reduced about 99 per cent. From 1920 to 1926 the production of alcohol at industrial alcohol plants increased from nearly 19,000,000 proof gallons to something over 202,000,000 proof gallons. During the same period denatured alcohol production went up from about 29,000,000 wine gallons to over 100,000,000 wine gallons.

Speaking of this marked increase in the production of denatured alcohol, the Commissioner said: "The increase in the quantities of both completely and partially denatured alcohol produced during the year is attributable to the constantly increasing use of completely denatured alcohol for general purposes, such as fuel, light and power, and to the use of specially denatured alcohol in the manufacture of new products and articles, in the manufacture of which

tax-paid alcohol has been used before." In the following year he stated: "The diversion of industrial alcohol is apparently less now than formerly, despite increased production coincident with expanding business prosperity."

It would seem, therefore, that prohibition enforcement has been effective. The saloons have been wiped out. The number of distilleries, wineries and breweries which are permitted lawfully to manufacture alcoholic liquors has been reduced to a very small fraction of the number that existed before prohibition came. There has not been an increase in illicit manufacturing of liquor to bring the total production of liquor up to an appreciable fraction of what that production was ten years ago. The number of persons who drink alcoholic liquors has been very greatly reduced since prohibition came. Obedience to the prohibition law is general throughout the country, and this obedience is sincere.

GROWING SUCCESS

Is it possible to enforce prohibition? Possibilities are matters of opinion. My own opinion is that prohibition can and will be enforced. This does not mean that the illicit use of intoxicating beverages will completely cease. For many generations to come human beings will be born with physical defects that produce mental twists which will lead to this type of anti-social conduct. Violators of the prohibition law we shall probably have for many years to come. But their numbers will be rapidly reduced. They will cease to be the serious menace to our social organization that they are today. My belief in the possibility of prohibition enforcement is founded upon the following reasons:

1. The putting of the Federal Prohibition Unit under Civil Service rules has removed the unit from the field of political control and corruption. One may confidently look forward to the time when it will function with the same degree of freedom from graft and partnership with vice which marks the activities of the other units of the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce and the Postoffice Department.

2. The coming year will be noteworthy for the educational campaign which the Dry forces will conduct. The Anti-Saloon League has asked, and is certain to obtain, over \$5,000,000 to be used for educational work. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals will give effective support to the Dry cause by

their own intensive educational efforts. The program outlined by the Association Opposed to the Prohibition Amendment will merely give greater occasion for putting the value of prohibition before the people of the country. In the main, Wet propaganda defeats its own purposes. Unless the Wets operate in secret by deliberate bribery of the electorate and enforcement officials they make no headway. All the Wet speakers I have heard in recent years have impressed me as being unacquainted with the facts, lacking in logic and spiritually insincere. Their presentations have usually left their hearers unconvinced. Even the most ardent Wet makes so many reservations in describing his position that he reveals himself as having no position. He has no genuine concern for the welfare of his country.

3. "Big Business" is on the side of prohibition. Professor Feldman's truly remarkable exposition of the industrial and economic benefit of prohibition has had a profound impression upon the leaders of business, industry and commerce. Employers are less inclined to hire men who drink even moderately. Total abstinence counts for preferment and advancement to positions of responsibility and power in every type of business career. The employees are beginning to see the economic benefits which prohibition helps them to get. They will not easily or willingly be deprived of those benefits. They are becoming in fact, as well as in sentiment, total abstainers.

4. The number of recruits to the army of drinkers is constantly decreasing. The index to this decrease is found in our colleges.

In spite of much and erroneous talk to the contrary, there is less drinking in our colleges now than in pre-prohibition days. Even in the universities which have been notorious for student intemperance there is less drinking now than there was five years ago. The practical disappearance from every campus in the country of the Theta Nu Epsilon and Kappa Beta Phi fraternities is a silent but eloquent witness to the increasing temperance of our college students. I am not forgetting that some women in our colleges are drinking, but I know that intemperance among women students is a negligible factor, a factor which is completely offset by the remarkable decrease in drinking among men students. Furthermore, the number of men who take to drinking after they leave college is considerably less than the number of drinkers who die each year. Statistics worked out by the insurance companies indicate that the greater part of those who are heavy drinkers now will be dead in about thirty years. There is very little likelihood that their places will be filled by those who are learning to drink now or will become drinkers in the next thirty years.

As the Eighteenth Amendment will probably not be repealed and as the Volstead act will be modified, if at all, in only quite minor details, the liquor traffic in the United States is permanently outlawed. Obedience to law will increase. The demand for intoxicating liquors will decrease. Coercive measures and organizations will function more intensively. Prohibition enforcement will become increasingly sincere and effective and possible.

IV.—Eighteenth Amendment Not a Remedy For the Drink Evil

By PIERRE S. DU PONT

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & CO.

NOT once in any one of the United States during the past eighty years has it been proposed to forbid the use of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes. A suggested remedy for the trouble has been prescribed only through laws and constitutional amendments relating to the sale, manufacture and transportation of intoxicants. If liquor drinking is not a crime sufficient to warrant a law to forbid it, why should there be so much contention over the

method to be used in combatting it? When we attached national importance to this question why was not all liquor in the country seized and destroyed and its further use forbidden? There is but one answer—prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists alike knew that the drinking of liquor in moderation is no crime, not even a proved injurious act. It would have been impossible to forbid all drinking by law or to legalize confiscation of liquor. Hence the real evil

remains, and only the means of combating it has been made the object of attack. The great majority of our people have no respect for this kind of law even if they think good has come of it or are willing to observe it. The reformers of the habits of their fellows are alone in the worship of their idol. Generally those who have drunk in moderation either condemn the law while observing it or show their disrespect by open violation. Those who formerly drank to excess may now do so and, if the record of drunkenness is a criterion, they are still active in their old-time pursuits.

Here we have a serious problem to solve, a difficulty that perplexes the whole world. We are absolutely united in a desire to accomplish and yet we fall apart—on what? On the question of how to proceed. Prohibition is a means of procedure only; in it there is nothing of morality nor is it really a social or political question; nor is it the first time that the importance of a remedy has been raised to exceed that of the disease to be cured.

Drunkenness is a disease of humanity to be fought and conquered. If we are to succeed, it will be by concerted movement, not by divided forces. Clearly we are on the wrong track today. Prohibition was prescribed as a remedy for drunkenness, for over-indulgence in alcoholic liquors, even for prevention of that apparently harmless drinking that might (or might not) lead to future excesses. Since this remedy was made mandatory by law much has been said and printed about it. For ten years not an issue of any daily paper has failed to deal with some happening or opinion concerning prohibition. How much of this publicity deals with the main question, the suppression of the evils of drink? Very little indeed. Prohibitionists are so wrapped up in the success of their pet remedy that they have nearly forgotten the main issue. Great amounts of money have been spent in advertising and promoting the cure but practically nothing to study the disease.

About 160,000,000 gallons of beverage alcohol were consumed in the United States in pre-prohibition days. Has any attempt been made to show what part of this was harmful consumption? Have any material data, beyond those of some very limited experiments by a few observers, proved whether or not the greater part of this liquor, apparently consumed in innocent manner, actually produced any ill result? Has any student of the question shown how the enormous *per capita* consumption of

wine in France and Italy has adversely affected the people of these countries?

Here we have spent millions of dollars (\$67,000,000 by the Anti-Saloon League alone) to put into our Constitution a limitation on the freedom of some millions of people, to abolish a custom of the centuries and to disregard all experience of the past, without any proof of necessity and without clear reasoning as to why it should be done. Millions of people have been in the habit of drinking with more or less frequency varying quantities of liquors of many kinds with no apparent immediate or ultimate ill effect. It is true that a much smaller number have through excesses brought harm to themselves and trouble and sorrow to others, but though alcohol is consumed by all these people, both the class that use and the class that abuse, there is not a shadow of proof that the larger number have in any way suffered in their moderation.

Like all reformers, prohibitionists have insisted that the sacrifice be made by others. If prohibition of alcohol really meets the wishes of so great a majority as is represented (or possibly misrepresented), why should not the reformers first exercise their zeal by contributions toward the cure of the few actually suffering from the abuse of alcohol and toward the enlightenment of the supposed small majority of disbelievers? Why should the latter be arbitrarily deprived of time-honored rights in order that the majority without contribution or sacrifice may test their remedy for the saving of humanity from unproved ills?

DRY STATES BEFORE PROHIBITION

But prohibition did not come upon us through the expressed wish of the majority. True, it has been misrepresented that thirty-two States had gone Dry when the Federal Amendment was submitted, that "more than 65 per cent. of the population of the United States was under prohibition either by virtue of the operation of local option or State-wide Prohibition laws." This misstatement was intended to imply that 65 per cent. of the population had endorsed absolute prohibition. Nothing could be further from the truth. Ten States only had by popular vote adopted prohibition of the manufacture, sale, transportation and importation of intoxicating liquors as provided in the proposed Eighteenth Amendment. Fifty per cent. only of the total voters in these States took part in the elections, and the ratifications carried majorities of but 7 per cent. of those qualified



PIERRE S. DU PONT

to vote. Two other States had adopted constitutional amendments of mildly prohibitory nature, but their Legislatures had supplemented the amendments with more stringent laws. These twelve were the only States that had forbidden all transportation of intoxicating liquors; they had only about 9 per cent. of the total population of the United States. The remaining 91 per cent. were free to import and transport intoxicants almost without restriction and in quantity equal to at least one quart of spirits per person every month in the area of greatest Dryness. In nearly all of this free area wine could be legally manufactured for domestic use.

The above is the negative side of the general feeling adverse to absolute prohibition. The positive side is more impressive. The people of seven States, 23 per cent. of the total population, had voted and had rejected State-wide prohibitory measures submitted to them; three States, with 7 per cent. of the population, had written local option into their Constitutions; one State had a mild prohibitory constitutional amendment that is subject to review in the year 1928; two States refused to ratify

the Federal amendment. Thus the people of thirteen States, with almost 36,000,000 (34 per cent.) of the population, were definitely recorded against National Prohibition. To this number should be added thirteen States that had amended their Constitutions against manufacture and sale of liquor, but permitted importation for private use. These States had a population of 22,000,000 (21 per cent. of the whole). This makes a total of twenty-six States, with a population of 58,000,000 (55 per cent. of the total), actually recorded against the absolute prohibition of the Eighteenth Amendment. If we add those States where the people had not spoken, we have thirty-six States, with a population of 96,000,000, living without present-day prohibition, and only twelve States, with a population of 9,500,000 under laws equivalent to the Volstead act.

Prohibitionists acknowledge that even in these Driest States it was impossible to enforce the law because of the great demand for liquor from those upon whom State-wide prohibition had been forced. This fact was a leading argument for National Prohibition. As Ernest R. Cherrington expressed it (*The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America*, p. 321), "Just as it had been impossible fully to enforce township, county and municipal prohibition without State prohibition, so it had become apparent that the enforcement of State prohibition would never be permanently successful until national prohibition had been secured." Evidently even in the "bone-dry" States a great and rebellious minority refused to submit to the exactions of the majority.

Misrepresentation concerning the progress of prohibition in the United States has been the outstanding feature of the National Prohibition movement. The Eighteenth Amendment itself was worded in a manner to deceive. In placing restrictions upon intoxicating liquor, time-honored custom had adopted the plan of forbidding in different ways manufacture or sale and, at times, transportation; generally with the exception of liquor used for medicinal, mechanical, sacramental or scientific purposes. The Federal amendment forbids the manufacture, sale, transportation and importation of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes. The word "beverage" must mean introduction into the human stomach. A narrower meaning was not intended, for clearly the ills of alcohol are due to its presence in the stomach; the purpose of its coming there, how it was introduced and the

amount of pleasure anticipated or realized are all immaterial. Nothing could be clearer than the expressed intent to forbid all transportation of intoxicating liquors in order to prevent their introduction into the human stomach. Notwithstanding this unmistakable meaning, the amendment did not forbid either the purchasing, the receiving, or the drinking of intoxicating beverages. The change in wording shows that a perfunctory following of previous custom did not occur. New words were deliberately adopted to suit the aim of the framers. From this we must assume that the prohibition of purchasing, of receiving as gift or of drinking was not intended; neither was it intended to permit transportation of beverage liquor nor the sale of wine for the sacrament. What now has resulted from the introduction of this remedy for the evils of drink?

CONSTITUTION DISREGARDED

The Eighteenth Amendment was declared ratified on Jan. 16, 1919. The enforcement act (the Volstead law) was passed by the House on July 22 and by the Senate on Sept. 4, and again on Oct. 27 over the veto of the President. Congress proceeded to disregard the Constitution of the United States, just as the Legislatures had disregarded the mandates of State Constitutions and the expressed wishes of the people. Though transportation of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes was forbidden without exception or qualification, the Volstead law sanctions this unconstitutional act under prescribed conditions. Though sale for all beverage purposes is forbidden by Constitution, this law permits it if the beverage be sacramental in character. Though sale for purposes other than beverage is not forbidden by Constitution, this law forbids manufacture, sale and transportation for use in cookery.

The result of Prohibition as above defined is that the United States is in the throes of revolution. The revolt is not against the abolition of the saloon and the attempt to stamp out drunkenness, as prohibitionists pretend to believe, nor is it so very much concerned with the question of drink. Properly referred for a decision, there would be small opposition to the resulting law, but when the fundamentals of government are disregarded and rights are trampled upon, the people have turned for relief to the words of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with

certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." These hallowed words were written by a small minority of British subjects revolting against the tyranny of the majority. So today a great number of our people, perhaps a majority of them, forbidden against their expressed wish to manufacture, sell or transport beverage liquors, are revolting against the tyranny of their fellows.

When the Federal Prohibition of intoxicating beverages was inaugurated, arrests for drunkenness had already fallen to 50 per cent. of the number reported in the same cities during 1914. In 1920, the first year of National Prohibition, arrests fell to 44 per cent. of the 1914 numbers. The Federal Division for enforcement of the law proclaimed the country in the South and West practically 100 per cent. Dry and a larger part of the East in an equally satisfactory condition. Gradually as various sources of liquor supply have increased in the United States, arrests for drunkenness have also increased, until the total in the recording cities is now equal to that of pre-war times.

Turn now to what has been accomplished in England. By the application of regulatory methods, arrests for drunkenness are now reduced to one-half of the pre-war record. The plan of procedure permitted continuing statistics of beverage alcohol consumption and has shown what might be expected from experience in the United States, that consumption of liquor and arrests are closely related—one-half the number of arrests has accompanied this one-half reduction in the consumption of beverage alcohol.

In the light of England's experience, there can be little doubt that our beverage alcohol consumption has returned to a total approximately that of the days of the open saloon. Some prohibitionists have naively explained this increase of drunkenness by calling attention to the supposedly more poisonous condition of present-day alcoholic drinks. But if we have cut down the volume of drink one-half and at the same time

rendered that half as poisonous as the former whole, we have not accomplished much by eight years of prohibition.

England has taught us another lesson in regard to alcoholic beverages. While reducing the consumption of alcohol to one-half of what it was before the World War, the Government has incidentally provided itself with important revenues. The total income from alcoholic drink during the years 1923-1926 has averaged about £134,000,000 annually. With a population of about 42,000,000 this means £3,200,000 each year from 1,000,000 inhabitants. For the United States such a tax would return \$1,850,000,000 each year. As our average income tax collections for the years 1923-1926 from individuals and corporations were \$1,817,000,000, resulting in a considerable surplus, it is fair to say that the British liquor policy applied in the United States would permit of the total abolition of the income tax both personal and corporate. Or, this liquor tax would be sufficient to pay off the entire debt of the United States, interest and principal, in a little less than fifteen years.

One cannot pass from consideration of the results of prohibition without asking, Who are the supporters of this restriction of liberty in the United States? This is a matter of conjecture, but does not experience lead to the following classification?

WHO SUPPORT PROHIBITION

First, a large body of zealots who have been led almost to a frenzy in their desire to reform others. They are of the class that caused the horrors of the religious persecutions of the Middle Ages. It is largely the descendants of the persecuted that have themselves turned persecutors. Many of this class have received their impetus from seeing some dear friend or relative fall into alcoholic excesses. Partly because of this, prohibition has been directed against the manufacturers and sellers of liquor. Had the proposition been to fine and imprison all persons showing signs of intoxication or, through drink, interfering with the rights of others, these good people would have been quite as active in protecting their friends and relatives from the law as they are now active in the pursuit of less injurious lawbreakers. There are laws aplenty for the arrest, fine and imprisonment of drunkards or those disorderly from drink, but how many present-day prohibitionists have had sufficient respect for law to deliver over their miscreant friends and relatives for punishment?

Second in support of prohibition come the "bootleggers," perhaps not a very numerous horde, but sufficiently so. They are possessed of vast revenues from their illicit business, probably \$1,000,000,000 or more annually. The trade of the bootlegger is one of great risk attended with great profit to the successful. So general is the revolt against prohibition that the bootlegger trade, which should be despised by all, is recognized in the most complacent manner, and would be even more generally practiced were its risks better understood. Truly, "politics makes strange bedfellows" when the exigencies of a political situation may bring together in active cooperation such opposites as the bootleggers and those who have made prohibition a semi-religious issue.

Third, and added to the above, we have the politicians whose bread and butter is at stake. Some of these men are willing to sell themselves to an issue which they do not support personally and to become members of the reprehensible class that "vote Dry and act Wet." Others are willing to agree in advance to violate their oath of office in a representative government by pledges to follow the wishes of those who elect them to office without regard to the rights and interests of others of different opinion equally entitled to representation.

FAVORED CLASS DEMAND

Fourth, one must refer to a class of miserable offenders against decency or right living—those who believe prohibition "a good thing for the other fellow," but for themselves are not willing to make the personal sacrifice necessary to obey the law. Is an employer entitled to the respect of his employes if he approves restriction upon their liberties "for their good," but insists upon his own freedom of action? He is a man demanding a favored class; he is no American and is entitled to none of the benefits of citizenship in our country.

The support of the prohibition issue seems to fall largely into the hands of the above-mentioned groups, whose selfish interests aim to prevent a true expression of opinion by the people of the United States. They gloat over the "success" (!) of prohibition; they rejoice over the difficulty of combating it; they will use their best endeavors to prevent a vote on the repeal or modification of existing law.

Meantime there remain a great many honest Americans in both the camp of the Wets and that of the Drys, whose interest is centred on the real issue—the cure of drunkenness and other evils flowing from

over-indulgence in intoxicating beverages. Exactly what constitutes over-indulgence must be determined from time to time. There is quite sufficient undisputed ground to work upon without infringing upon rights that may be in dispute. When the greater evils are cured, the way will be paved for attacking the lesser.

Meantime Federal Prohibition has at least proved that a very large supply of very bad liquor can be maintained in the face of very rigid laws and that a fair supply of fairly good liquor can be maintained probably to

a large extent through corruption of government employees. Prohibition has failed in every Christian civilized community in which it has been tried, including the several States of the Union. It has failed in the United States as a whole. If in the end the custom of drinking intoxicants should be eliminated in our country it will be because of the willingness and desire of our people for such elimination—not because of existing prohibitory laws that have tended to magnify the evils of drink instead of curing them.

V.—Europe's Drink Evil an Object Lesson to America

By WILLIAM E. ("PUSSYFOOT") JOHNSON

INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY DIRECTOR, WORLD LEAGUE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

IT is habitual with the Wet interests to garner statistics of arrests for drunkenness in cities during the Dry régime, showing increases for such prosecutions, but without making allowance for increased rigor in the treatment of such offenses, which is well known. In no case do these Wets make comparisons between the eight Volstead years and a corresponding period before the Eighteenth Amendment. Such comparisons would not make the showing desired—far from it.

The brewers declare that prohibition is a failure and then solemnly state that more liquor is made and drunk than ever before. It is not clear just what is their cause of complaint.

Distressing stories are told about the "stupendous" growth of drunken orgies in our colleges. Yet the parents who should be apt to know something about it send three times as many students to American colleges as they did in 1918. The greatest organization of women on earth, the 600,000 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, mostly mothers, stand to the last unit in claiming good results and efficiency for the Volstead act. If large numbers of boys and girls habitually came home drunk, as is so eloquently asserted, some of these 600,000 mothers would be likely to find it out.

More than 60,000 Protestant churches combined their efforts, through the Anti-Saloon League, to advance the cause of prohibition and to bring about the Eighteenth Amendment. If prohibition was such

a failure as so many allege, is it not strange that none of these churches has discovered it? Out of the 60,000 Protestant churches that worked to bring about Volstead conditions not a single one has changed its mind. Every last one of them still stands united in support of the policy which it believes has been justified in theory and in fact.

Our former brewery overlords say with great emphasis that the Volstead act is not enforced, cannot be enforced and should not be enforced. Yet last November the Department of Justice issued a statement showing that at that time there were 2,040 offenders against the Dry laws actually serving time in Federal prisons, to say nothing of the thousands serving time in jails for violations of various State Dry laws. Then, turning to the annual report of the Commissioner of Prohibition (Page 13), we are told that "prohibition agents made 64,986 arrests during the year ended June 30, 1927, and seized 7,137 automobiles, valued at \$3,529,296.70, and 353 boats, valued at \$316,323. As a result of the work of such agents, 51,945 cases against individuals were handled in the Federal courts and 36,546 persons were convicted, of which number 11,818 were given jail sentences. The courts imposed sentences aggregating 4,477 years and fines amounting to \$5,775,225.48." This does not, of course, take into account the thousands of offenders convicted in State courts and the fines imposed therein, which doubtless amount to as much as or more than the punishment inflicted in the Federal courts. During the past four

years the Federal courts alone have convicted offenders against the Volstead act at the average rate of about 3,000 per month.

Is this evidence of non-enforcement? How many tens of thousands of offenders must be convicted how many more thousands of years must they serve, how many more thousands of automobiles and boats must be seized, and how many more millions of dollars must the unfortunate Wets pay in fines before they will modify the assertion that "prohibition is not enforced and cannot be enforced"?

In my six years of service as Chief Officer of the United States Indian Service I convicted in various Federal and State courts more than 4,400 offenders, practically all offenders against liquor laws. About one-half of the territory in my jurisdiction was Dry and about one-half under license. The records of the Indian Office show that 90 per cent. of these cases arose on license territory and only about 10 per cent. of them arose on prohibition areas. In my cases that came to an issue 97 per cent. of them resulted in convictions. No other Government agency dealing with other offenses approached such a high percentage of convictions, showing that even under frontier conditions the juries were eager to convict those charged with violations of the liquor laws, especially prohibition laws. I then demonstrated that even in sections where lawlessness was supposed to reign it was easier to enforce a "bone-dry" prohibition law than laws pretending to regulate the liquor traffic.

All down through history wise men, good men, philosophers, scientists, statesmen and lawmakers have sought to devise some scheme, to invent some system or to enact some law that would get rid of the evils of drunkenness without getting rid of drink. All these efforts sought to remove the trouble by throwing about the liquor traffic the protection of law and of the courts. Every effort of that character since the days of Hammurabi has failed. After experimenting faithfully for a hundred years America finally reached the conclusion that 4,200 years of failure was quite long enough and that the time had come to try something else. Out of the warp and woof of these American experiments, covering a full century, the decision was reached that it might be a good way to remove the evils of the liquor traffic by removing the traffic itself. That was the logic that drove America into shutting up in a single day 176,000 licensed drink shops, to say nothing of the 1,200 breweries. In other words, America

inaugurated a war on the liquor instead of continuing as an active partner in a discredited traffic.

No form of so-called regulation, strict or otherwise, has solved or lessened the evils of drink in any appreciable degree. The Anglophile may cite England, where, according to the legend, there prevails "great reverence for law and order," where the licensed liquor dealers "obey the law." Some thirty years ago Dr. Vaply French, a learned Britisher, wrote his book *Nineteen Centuries of Drink in England*, in which he recorded the centuries of effort to get rid of the evils of drink without disturbing the traffic in liquor. In all those centuries of effort there is not a gleam of permanent success. Drink still has a strangle hold on the British people, including the Church itself. Even to this hour England is pestered with smugglers who nightly bring illicit liquor as well as other dutiable goods across the English Channel from France. Examining briefly the British record of shortcomings in these matters, we find the following record of convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales, which drunkenness was officially attributed to drinking methylated spirits:

Year	Convictions		
	Male	Female	Total
1920.....	81	196	277
1921.....	117	214	331
1922.....	250	266	516
1923.....	334	349	683
1924.....	346	347	693
1925.....	241	203	444
1926.....	218	171	389

Surely nineteen hundred years of experience in "regulating" drink in England does not appear to have even approximately eliminated the drinking of wood alcohol and other denatured spirits.

Let us apply another concrete test of the results of all these centuries of regulation as compared with eight years of prohibition in America. London is almost exactly the same size in population as New York, and the policies as to making arrests for intoxication are much more stringent in New York than in London. The record of arrests for drunkenness in New York as compared with the "convictions" for the same offense in London since 1910 is shown on the following page.

From this official record it appears that the "convictions" for drunkenness in London in all these sixteen years has averaged more than twice the "arrests" for drunkenness in New York, a city of approximately the same size. But in recent years, since the adoption of prohibition in America, the

DRUNKENNESS IN NEW YORK AND LONDON

Year	Population	Arrests for Intoxication in New York City		Convictions— for Drunkenness in Greater London	
		Arrests for Intoxication	Per 10,000 Population	Convictions	Per 10,000 Population
1911.....	4,852,200	21,994	45.32	55,898	93
1912.....	4,937,517	20,640	41.80	59,920	99
1913.....	5,022,834	21,727	43.25	65,488	109
1914.....	5,108,151	20,269	39.67	67,654	112
1915.....	5,193,468	20,194	38.88	51,836	86
1916.....	5,278,785	17,099	32.39	29,394	48
1917.....	5,364,102	13,844	25.80	16,833	28
1918.....	5,449,419	7,090	13.01	10,139	17
1919.....	5,534,736	5,562	10.04	21,053	35
1920.....	5,620,048	5,936	10.56	30,399	50
1921.....	5,705,365	5,237	10.93	27,788	46
1922.....	5,790,682	8,578	14.81	31,333	51
1923.....	5,875,999	10,643	18.11	30,490	50
1924.....	5,961,316	10,934	18.34	30,437	50
1925.....	6,046,633	8,971	14.83	29,975	49
1926.....	6,131,950	8,747	14.26	29,174	48
Averages.....	.....	13,029	24.50	34,919	60

convictions for drunkenness in London have run about three times the number of arrests in New York.

Painful as it may be to many who do not approve of American dry laws, let us apply still another British test. Below is a table showing the arrests or convictions for drunkenness and also arrests or convictions per 10,000 population for that offense in Liverpool, Glasgow and Edinburgh as compared with the record of New York City.

These figures show that the arrests or convictions for intoxication per 10,000 population in Glasgow are five and a half times those of New York. In Liverpool such arrests in proportion to population average four times as much and in Edinburgh seven times as much as in New York.

Turning to France we find that, according to the French census of 1921, the last figures available, Paris had a population

of 2,906,471, about half the population of New York City. The following table shows arrests for drunkenness in Paris as compared with New York:

Year	Arrests in Paris	Arrests Per 10,000 Population	New York Arrests Per 10,000 Population
1911.....	23,058	76.8	45.32
1912.....	27,137	90.4	41.80
1913.....	20,256	67.5	43.25
1914.....	18,175	60.5	39.67
1915.....	12,281	40.9	38.88
1916.....	11,380	37.9	32.39
1917.....	10,915	36.3	25.80
1918.....	8,399	27.9	13.01
1919.....	8,059	26.8	10.04
1920.....	11,633	38.7	10.56
1921.....	12,790	42.6	14.81
1922.....	15,031	50.1	14.81
1923.....	16,208	54.0	18.11
1924.....	14,157	47.1	18.34
Avergs.	15,059	50.5	25.88

What comfort are the advocates of "light

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS IN BRITISH CITIES

Year	Glasgow		Liverpool		Edinburgh		Arrests, N. Y. City
	Arrests	Per 10,000 Pop.	Convic- tions	Per 10,000 Pop.	Convic- tions	Per 10,000 Pop.	Per 10,000 Pop'l'n
1919.....	9,143	82	4,361	54	1,901	56	10.04
1920.....	18,709	169	8,506	106	3,063	90	10.56
1921.....	10,465	94	6,386	79	5,046	149	10.93
1922.....	8,001	72	5,479	68	3,116	92	14.81
1923.....	7,496	67	4,886	60	5,197	153	18.11
1924.....	7,710	69	4,434	55	2,919	86	18.34
1925.....	7,835	71	4,452	55	2,447	72	14.83
Averages.....	.....	77.7	.....	68.1	.....	99.7	13.9

wines" to obtain from this record as to Paris where, after two thousand years of experience of the "wine cure," there are approximately twice the number of arrests per 10,000 population as in New York City after eight years of prohibition.

As a source of inspiration for rational methods we are referred to the Scandinavian experiments, particularly to the systems prevailing in Stockholm and Oslo. It is pointed out with much emphasis that Norway tried prohibition and abandoned it because it did not work. The weakness of this contention is that Norway never had prohibition as we in America understand it. The Norwegian attempt was to substitute wine and beer for spirits, and that attempt *did* fail, for the people could and did get drunk on beer and wine as easily as on the spirits.

The Stockholm "system" is a rationing system that has nothing to do with beer. People who desire to drink strong liquor are required to go to the proper officer and get "examined." The official, after "examination," decides "scientifically" exactly how much liquor the applicant requires for his own good. He then gives him a rationing card authorizing him to buy and consume that amount of liquor during the month and no more. Below is given the record of arrests for drunkenness in Stockholm and Oslo as well as the arrests per 10,000 population in both cities. The statistics for Stockholm are calculated on the basis of 450,000 population, which is probably excessive, the figures available being old and much less than the population that I am using. The statistics for Stockholm are for "arrests"; those for Oslo for "convictions":

Year	Stockholm		Oslo		Arrests, N. Y. City	
	Ar- rests	Per 10,000 Pop.	Con- vic- tions	Per 10,000 Pop.	Per 10,000 Pop.	Per 10,000 Pop.
1912.....	16,799	373	.....	.....	.....	41.80
1913.....	17,696	391	20,293	780	43.25	
1914.....	11,878	264	19,071	733	39.67	
1915.....	11,323	251	20,684	795	38.88	
1916.....	9,877	219	24,818	954	32.39	
1917.....	3,749	83	13,672	525	25.80	
1918.....	6,341	141	12,217	469	13.01	
1919.....	11,282	251	16,938	651	10.04	
1920.....	10,207	228	13,624	524	10.56	
1921.....	6,950	154	13,750	529	10.93	
1922.....	7,488	166	18,195	699	14.81	
1923.....	8,069	181	22,504	865	18.11	
1924.....	8,181	182	18,704	719	18.34	
1925.....	7,275	162	16,518	635	14.83	
1926.....	6,689	148	.....	..	14.26	
Averages...	9,587	213	19,845	682	25.88	

Doubtless the high rate of arrests for

drunkenness in both Norway and Sweden is due to the strictness of the police, but my observations in both countries gave me the impression that in neither country are the police as strict as in New York. Yet in both countries the officers are far more active than in either England or France. But, so far as statistics go, in Stockholm, where the rationing system prevails, there are about eight times as many arrests for drunkenness, in proportion to population, as in New York. In Oslo, where the attempt was made to substitute wine and beer for spirits, the showing is even more dismal. Oslo shows about twenty-six as many proportionate arrests as does New York.

It is said that beer would be an effective panacea for the evils of drink, since it is a "non-intoxicating, wholesome, refreshing beverage." People forget that the laws of every American State for half a century have classed beer as an "intoxicating liquor" and that in pre-Volstead days beer was bought, sold and consumed largely because of its intoxicating qualities. They forget that beer constituted 93 per cent. of the entire liquor business of the United States ten years ago. They forget that it was chiefly the debauchery of beer and the corruption of brewers that drove America into the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment. If beer really ever ushered into existence a satisfactory condition as to sobriety, what better example should there be than to examine the situation in Germany?

A BERLIN ORGY

Berlin is only about one-half the size of New York. On New Year's Night, 1925-26, the police made 450 arrests in Berlin alone. Six were killed, 353 were wounded in drunken brawls and there were 11 attempts at suicide. On New Year's Night, 1926-27, when Berlin was again turned loose into a general beer "celebration," the police dealt with 535 cases of "gross misconduct," more than 400 human wrecks sought refuge in the municipal poorhouses, 6 deaths resulted from street accidents and 27 persons committed suicide. Do German liquor dealers obey their own law? In recent weeks American newspapers have printed several cablegrams telling of large fines inflicted upon German brewers because of their smuggling operations. When I left Germany a few months ago there were about 6,000 smuggling, moonshining and bootlegging cases pending in the courts, which were clogged with cases of this sort. One hundred and thirty-three German cities maintain municipi-

pal departments for looking after the drunkards. In 1925 these departments cared for 28,500 drunkards, of which 2,182 were sent to inebriate homes for treatment.

In October, 1926, I spent three days at the great Brewers Exposition in the City of Munich, Bavaria, the greatest beer-drinking spot on earth, as it has been for a thousand years. A few years ago, in order to seek to reclaim the vast horde of confirmed drunkards developed in that city under the historic beer system, the afflicted people set up a semi-official committee, financed partly by the Bavarian Government and headed by Dr. Otto Bauer, a distinguished Bavarian lawyer. Dr. Bauer used to drink, and finally began philanthropic operations by rescuing himself. In answer to my question he said that according to his best judgment there were not fewer than 10,000 confirmed drunkards in Munich. That is the work of beer. Munich has a population of something like 450,000 people. It has been the beer centre of the world ever since the dawn of Bavarian history, and all the people have to show for it today is 10,000 confirmed drunkards. Yet in America the Wets would have us adopt the Munich system.

If we turn to the two chief cities of Canada, the same comparative results appear. Under the British North American act, which corresponds to our Federal Constitution, the Canadian Provinces are limited in their powers over the liquor traffic. Matters of manufacture and transportation are solely within the jurisdiction of the Dominion authority. Provincial power, therefore, is limited to matters of sale. The Provinces have power to prohibit the sale of liquor, but nothing further. For this reason the Canadian Provinces have never had and do not have any complete prohibition of the liquor traffic as it is understood in the United States. The sole exception to this was the short period of time during the war when real prohibition prevailed as a "war measure." This, of course, was abandoned at the end of the war. Since then most of the Provinces that had prohibited the sale of liquor adopted as an alternative some form of Government sale. But in practice liquor sold by the Government proves to have about the same effect on the consumer as when sold by private individuals. The old-time evils made manifest in the new policy prevail. Bootlegging, smuggling and kindred evils continue as before. An examination of the statistics of arrests for drunkenness in Montreal and in Toronto, given below, bears

out this statement so far as statistics can show. The arrests for drunkenness in each of these cities, in proportion to population, show a general average several times greater than in New York:

Year	Toronto		Montreal		N. Y. City
	Ar- rests	Per 10,000 Pop.	Ar- rests	Per 10,000 Pop.	Per 10,000 Pop.
1910.....	11,650	220	2,254	36	47.21
1911.....	11,717	225	3,339	54	45.32
1912.....	13,665	262	6,842	110	41.80
1913.....	15,116	290	9,295	151	43.25
1914.....	14,247	273	8,323	136	39.67
1915.....	11,232	216	5,478	88	38.88
1916.....	9,639	185	4,409	71	32.39
1917.....	4,554	87	5,353	86	25.80
1918.....	3,433	66	4,498	72	13.01
1919.....	3,925	74	6,693	108	10.04
1920.....	6,130	118	7,618	121	10.56
1921.....	4,727	91	6,363	102	10.93
1922.....	4,059	78	3,227	52	14.81
1923.....	4,701	90	3,760	60	18.11
1924.....	4,579	88	3,922	63	18.34
1925.....	5,546	106	3,165	51	14.83
1926.....	5,062	97	...	..	...
Averages...	7,880	150	5,347	85	26.56

SMUGGLING PROBLEM

Many cry out in anguish of soul about "smuggling," as if that were an American vice, developed under and by our prohibition laws. In Geneva in September, 1926, I sat for three days listening to the discussions at an international congress against "smuggling." In the gathering were delegates from nearly every country of Europe, mostly official delegates appointed by the several Governments, and two official observers from the League of Nations. For three days there were reports, discussions and resolutions on the subject, and in the three days there was scarcely a reference made to smuggling in America. The smuggling problems of Europe so greatly overshadowed those of America that they had no time to think of such problems in this country. Lawbreakers were smuggling liquor from Russia into the Baltic States. The Baltic States were smuggling it into Finland and Scandinavia. Sweden had organized a special Government service to deal with the trouble. Germany was smuggling liquor into Scandinavia and everywhere else. France was smuggling it into England. Hamburg and the free City of Danzig were reported as veritable nests of smugglers. Various Governments had entered into conventions and agreements to deal with these difficulties.

In comparison with the trials and tribulations of Europe, after a thousand years of attempts to "regulate" the liquor traffic,

our woes in America are small. Our troubles, largely imaginary, arise from different motives. We have an alcoholic Mafia, which is held together by the cohesive power of public plunder, and whose members magnify our admitted sins for their own private purposes. On this subject we have those who do their thinking with their stomachs instead of their heads. When some other people develop a system of dealing with the drink problem that will not suffer when compared with the results

of our prohibition policy, then and not till then will it be sensible to throw away what we have gained in this matter. There is no vested right in anything that is destructive of the life, the morals and the health of the people. For a thousand years the liquor barons of the world have held this idea of "vested rights," claiming that it was sanctioned by God, but the peoples of the world, under the urge of democratic ideas, are now at last beginning to recognize this ancient fraud.

VI.—Canada's Retreat From Prohibition

By J. M. CAMPBELL

OUR next-door neighbor, Canada, is an almost ideal proving-ground for a study of the drink problem. Outside the Province of Quebec, whose inhabitants are largely of French descent, the people of Canada are very much like ourselves. They and we speak the same tongue, think much the same thoughts, obey or disobey much the same laws and have an outlook on life that is almost identical. In so far then as the liquor question is concerned, Canada deserves attention from those who are intelligent enough to know that all knowledge is not ours and fair-minded enough to admit that there is a possibility that we may learn something from the experience of others.

There are three outstanding factors in Canada's century-old effort to find a workable solution of the liquor problem. One is the racial-climatic factor; another is the religious factor, the third is the geographical factor.

Canada is peopled largely by men and women of British birth or ancestry. Britishers have many admirable qualities, but moderation in the use of liquor is not one of them. For this state of affairs, various explanations are offered. The most common one given by those who defend the use of liquor is that all liquor, and fermented liquor in particular, is a food and as such should not be denied those who want it. For this belief, there really seems to be some justification. It is also contended that in a cold, damp climate such as that of Great Britain, an occasional glass of spirits is—well, not absolutely necessary, but, as the Scots say, "very comforting." They point further to the fact that Southern Europeans are much less given to alco-

holic excess than are the people of Central Europe and that they in turn are more temperate than the people of Northern Europe. This, they say, proves that there is an actual relationship between climate and the use of alcohol. Here, again, the evidence appears to be with rather than against them. If these arguments are soundly based, it is not at all extraordinary that a considerable proportion of those of British birth who have made homes for themselves in Canada should have brought with them a highly-developed taste for intoxicants—and thereby the problem with which legislation has sought to cope.

In 1875, eight years after the Canadian Dominion came into existence, the power to prohibit licensed houses locally was introduced by the Canada Temperance act, a Federal law which was commonly known as the Scott act. The Scott act appears to have been the first successful effort in Canada on the part of what are now called Prohibitionists to put their beliefs in operation. Outside the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), where the temperance sentiment is and always has been strong, the Scott act was not widely adopted. In 1908 it was in force in only twenty-two counties or cities, of which ten were in Nova Scotia, ten in New Brunswick and two in Manitoba. Nowhere else was it in force.

In 1910, Nova Scotia passed a prohibitory law. So in 1916 did Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario. Saskatchewan followed suit in 1917. Without exception these last-named Provinces have discarded prohibition—Alberta in 1923, British Columbia in 1920, Manitoba in 1923,

Ontario in 1926 and Saskatchewan in 1924. Quebec is the only Canadian Province which has never shown much interest in prohibition. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island still have prohibition laws. The situation, then, is this: Five Provinces which, at one time or another, have had prohibition laws, have changed front; three others are still dry; one is, as it always has been, wet.*

Religion is a factor of greater importance in everyday life in Canada than in the United States. It may be an exaggeration to say that one can tell, from a man's religious affiliation, whether he is a Liberal or a Conservative in politics, but the statement is not far from true. Those who adhere to the Liberal party are usually of the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian or Lutheran faith, while the Anglicans and Roman Catholics are as a rule Conservatives. This, of course, is a generalization, to which there are any number of exceptions; but in the main, it holds good. Again speaking generally, the advocates of prohibition are most likely to vote the Liberal ticket, while those who are opposed to prohibition, usually vote Conservative. In point of numbers, the Roman Catholics are first by a wide margin. Indeed, there are more Roman Catholics in Canada than Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Lutherans combined, there being about 3,500,000 of the former as against 3,300,000 of the latter. The Anglicans, with a total membership of 1,500,000, hold the balance of power.

Canada is essentially an agricultural country. It has its fisheries, its nickel, copper, gold, silver and coal mines and an almost inexhaustible supply of timber; but the bulk of its wealth comes from cultivating the soil, and the majority of its citizens are rural rather than urban. True, in recent years, Ontario has become more or less industrialized, but even Ontario is more interested in agriculture than in manufactures. Yet, in Ontario, it is the factory towns that are growing fastest. Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, Peterborough, Belleville, London—to name only a few—are attracting to themselves thousands of men who formerly lived on farms as well as thousands more who are newly come from the British Isles. These latter are born city dwellers. The country has no charms for them. In small towns and rural dis-

tricts the sentiment in favor of prohibition is strong, whereas in the cities the contrary is true. This, then, is the "line-up" in Canada:

THE TWO SIDES IN CANADA

In favor of prohibition: The farmers and small towns people; the members of those religious bodies which in Great Britain are known as "nonconformists"; the Liberals.

Against prohibition: The people of the factory towns and cities, the Roman Catholics and, to a considerable extent, the Anglicans; the Conservatives.

These two groups are or have been pretty evenly balanced. A few thousand votes one way or the other can be quite enough to decide the outcome of an election.

A considerable percentage of the people of Canada drink like Britishers, but in the matter of legislation regarding drink are influenced more, I imagine, than they realize by what is done on the American side of the border. Reformers of the type with which all of us are familiar are just as much at home in Canada as in the United States. They use the same arguments and appeal to the same sort of people, but not being content with putting the saloon out of business, they went further, and tried to stop drinking altogether. Time and again they appealed to the electorate. In 1916 they won not only in Ontario, but also in Alberta, British Columbia and Manitoba. The saloons closed their doors. Overnight, almost, the "blind pigs" and "speak-easies" opened theirs, and the bootlegger flourished.

What took place in Canada during its prohibition era was very much like what we have been experiencing under the Volstead law, but with certain differences. In Canada the average income is smaller than in the United States. Further, in a small city—and most Canadian cities are small—one cannot become drunk or disorderly without everybody's knowing it. All this tended to discourage open violation of the law and encourage secret violation. Many people who had voted for prohibition, largely because they thought it would put the saloon out of business, went in for "home-brewing," regarding the law as a good one—for other people. On the other hand, the young people of Canada never went to such extremes as those in the United States are given credit for. There were not the "facilities"—the night-clubs, the roadhouses, the almost universal ownership of automobiles. Nevertheless, as

* Since this article was written, New Brunswick has followed the example of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan and has adopted Control.

time went on it became increasingly clear that prohibition was not the success its proponents had said it would be and in the end it became a good deal of a joke—the butt of vaudeville actors and small-town story-tellers. When men laugh at a law, it is dead.

Possibly the fact that in dry Ontario more men and women were being arrested for drunkenness than in the neighboring wet Province of Quebec had a good deal to do with changing the point of view of thousands of Canadians. That proved beyond question that the prohibition laws which the various Provinces had enacted were not functioning as they should. As far back as 1919 an effort was made to repeal the Ontario Temperance Act, but unsuccessfully by a majority of 408,000. Another attempt was made in 1921 and it, too, failed by 166,000 votes. A third attempt in 1924 was beaten by 33,915 votes. But in December, 1926, the Wets won by a majority of 241,632, though it was not a victory of the Wets over the Drys, but an admission on the part of the voters of Ontario that prohibition had failed and that it was time to try something else, that is, control. Something of the same sort has happened in the other Provinces. Thousands and thousands of men and women who sincerely believed that prohibition would make Canada as dry as the Sahara were forced to admit that they were sadly mistaken. Little by little, their enthusiasm cooled as it became clearer and clearer that disrespect for law—not merely the prohibition law, but all law—was growing. They were disillusioned. That is putting the thing bluntly, yet truthfully. How the law has been changed in five of the Provinces can be seen from the following summary regarding the advent and repeal of prohibition in those Provinces:

THE VOTE AGAINST PROHIBITION

Ontario—Ontario Temperance Act adopted by unanimous vote of the Legislature, March 2, 1916. No referendum. Act repealed in 1927 following general election on Dec. 1, 1926, when Conservative Government was sustained on making Government control of liquor its main plank. Members elected as follows: Conservatives, 75; Liberals, 17; Progressives, 13; Independent-Liberals, 4; U. F. O., 3. Total, 112.

Manitoba—Manitoba Temperance Act carried March 13, 1916, on referendum, by 50,484 to 26,502. Repealed on referendum

of June 22, 1923, on vote of 107,609 to 68,879.

Saskatchewan—Voted on Dec. 11, 1916, to abolish liquor stores then existing; vote in six cities being 14,528 to 2,286. Repealed prohibition by vote of 119,337 to 80,381, July 16, 1924.

Alberta—Prohibition carried by direct legislation vote, July 21, 1915. Repealed by vote of Nov. 5, 1922, when Government sale of liquor was adopted by 93,990 to 61,780 for prohibition.

British Columbia—Prohibition Act passed Legislature, May, 1916, subject to referendum, which affirmed the law by vote on Sept. 14, 1916, of 44,665 to 33,214. Government control adopted by vote of Legislature March 31, 1920.

The Ontario Liquor Control Act, which took effect on June 1, 1927, has for its avowed purpose "to promote temperance, sobriety, personal liberty and, above all, to restore respect for law." It will do this, its advocates say, because it will so regulate the sale of liquor that those who have the right to buy it can do so at reasonable prices and in quantities large enough to satisfy any one who is not a dipsomaniac. It will also increase the revenue of the Province by about \$5,000,000 a year. While prohibition was presumably in force, the illicit sale of liquor was estimated at about \$30,000,000 a year—not a penny of which was paid into the Provincial Treasury. The following are the outstanding features of the new law:

1.—The creation of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario is authorized.

2.—The Liquor Control Board consists of one, two or three members as may be determined by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. It is charged with the duty of administering the Liquor Control act—that is, it establishes Government liquor stores at such places as are considered advisable; it fixes the prices at which the various brands of liquor carried in stock are to be sold; it engages and supervises the work of the men in charge of the Government stores; it prosecutes violators of the liquor law and it keeps in close and continuous touch with every brewery and distillery in the Province. In other words, the Liquor Control Board endeavors to control the handling and sale of liquor from the time it is manufactured—if made in Ontario—or from the time it enters the Province—if made elsewhere, until it is in the hands of the ultimate consumer. The board is in a position to do this because it has a monopoly of the right to purchase liquor and

also because it has a monopoly of the right to sell it.

3.—Liquor is sold only to holders of permits and then only after their purchase-orders have been approved by the "censor" and payment in full has been made.

4.—Liquor is sold only in packages sealed with the official seal of the Liquor Control Board.

5.—No package containing liquor shall be opened on the premises of a Government store and no liquor shall be consumed on such premises.

Permits to buy liquor are of two kinds, "Individual" and "Special." Individual permits may be granted to persons of the full age of 21 who have resided in Ontario for at least one month immediately preceding the date of application; or, in the case of non-residents, to individuals of the full age of 21, temporarily sojourning in the Province. The fee in either case is two dollars. Special permits are obtainable by ministers of the gospel, by persons in

charge of hospitals, sanitariums or homes for aged people or for the purchase of liquor for use in educational or governmental institutions. They are also obtainable by druggists, physicians, dentists, veterinarians or persons engaged in mechanical or scientific pursuits as well as by manufacturers who use liquor (principally alcohol, of course) in their businesses. The fee for obtaining a special permit is two dollars.

The other four Canadian Provinces—five, if one includes New Brunswick—which have discarded prohibition and have adopted liquor control have liquor laws very similar to Ontario's. Control is the third phase in Canada's effort to solve the problem, What shall we do about liquor? The first phase was license—which was a tragedy; the second phase, prohibition, was a farce. Will control do what license and prohibition failed to do—will it "promote temperance"? That is a question which time alone can answer.

VII.—Prohibition as a Great Social Reform

By HARRY S. WARNER

EDUCATIONAL SECRETARY, INTERCOLLEGIATE PROHIBITION ASSOCIATION

56
"HERE around Hull House," says Jane Addams, founder of that noted institution in the southwest congested section of Chicago, "we used to watch whisky and beer being left at saloons by the drayload. The poverty and suffering from drink were appalling. There is such a difference now that it seems like another world." However varied may be the causes of this change, it is clear that this noted first-hand investigator, writing from the heart of a section where the drink burden of the people was heaviest, and out of a lifetime of study spent intimately in that neighborhood, regards the prohibition of alcoholic drink as one of the most important of causes. She continues: "Drink has decreased and so has our work of rehabilitating families wrecked through intemperance. We have hardly any more squalid homes and neglected families to deal with. Our poor are moving away into better places, the whole standard of life is rising for them."

More than twenty years ago, when the present writer was a student at the University of Chicago, he spent hundreds of days and nights studying social conditions

in this same and similar neighborhoods of Chicago, in other cities and in smaller towns as well. So as to estimate the results of the first eight years of National Prohibition, it seems only common sense to present for comparison some of the conditions which that policy seeks to improve.

First, the home of poverty in country or city where drink was a heavy burden is passing. The stories of children's shoes sold for drink and of the drunkard's hovel were not mere emotional appeal but serious realities, widely diffused in country and village and great city. In a typical county seat town of 5,000 or 6,000 in Ohio thirty years ago there were twenty-one saloons. There was the southeast poor section with drunkards' families. For ten miles in all directions there were occasional poverty-stricken families with drinking men as their "heads." Gradually the prohibition idea developed year by year from township to city, to county prohibition. As steadily the number of these heavy-drinking families decreased and the shacks disappeared. The little city is now one of the most attractive home communities in America.

These cross sections of what is happening under the prohibition experiment in America, one of them in a congested section of many nationalities and social customs, the other in a predominantly rural community made up largely of older American stock, are suggestive of a decided improvement in home life that is taking place under prohibition.

Liquor banishment is an important factor in the present prosperity of the country and in the great reduction in poverty that is now in progress. Professor Irving Fisher reported at a recent meeting of the leading economists of the United States that he was unable to find one of them who would testify that prohibition is not a factor in the movement by which this nation is abolishing poverty. By an overwhelming majority the leaders of big industries declare that the disappearance of the saloon has stimulated production and improved living conditions and efficiency of workers. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, in a recent survey of the productivity and welfare of the American people, regards National Prohibition as one of four factors accounting for the recent great strides that the country has made. He declares that in the five years, 1921 to 1926, the real income, or purchasing power, of the average wage earner increased 35 per cent. He says: "There can be no doubt that prohibition is putting money into the American family pocketbook. The Dry law has proved its worth in dollars and cents."

Increased production has benefited industry and the country as a whole. It has also benefited the poor man and the man of moderate means. They have been able to take advantage of the new prosperity as they could not while the saloon was here. The working man comes regularly to work; he is on time on Monday mornings; he is stronger, more clear-headed, more self-respecting. He is in position to demand a greater share of the results of production; and he is using that increased wage to advance his standard of living. This, in turn, enables him and his family to purchase a yet greater variety of necessities and luxuries, thus stimulating the market for additional goods.

What is happening to the nearly \$2,000,000,000 that formerly went each year into the saloon? A part of it, of course, goes to the bootlegger; but that part comes now very largely from people who can afford to pay fancy prices. The heavy burden in money cost and the blight on productive

and purchasing ability in the past fell most heavily on the man of moderate or small means; now the corresponding saving goes also to him. It is clear, both from everyday observation and from the most careful and scientific investigations yet made, that the money formerly spent in the saloon now goes into automobiles, attendance at the movies, increased use of ice cream and non-alcoholic drinks, to the savings banks, the purchase of homes and education. Such investments increase instead of decreasing the number of wants and the ability to satisfy those wants. The new standard of living thus reached calls for a thousand new articles of comfort and brings a thousand new opportunities to spend. Money used in this way puts many more people at work producing these articles. A larger share of it goes back to workers in the form of wages than would occur were it going into the manufacture of liquor.

ECONOMIC RESULTS

The satisfaction that comes from liquor indulgence does not cause expanding desire for other satisfactions. It diminishes and crowds out other desires. The more the craving for alcohol is satisfied the more imperative becomes the demand for it. On the one hand, a drinker's earning capacity grows less as his reliability decreases; on the other, consequences of drink on himself and his family not only make them less able to purchase what is needed but also, by injuring pride and personality, reduce effective desire for other things. The desire for alcohol regularly satisfied and the exploitation and promotion of that desire by a great industry organized for profit had become throughout the United States by 1914 one of the most gigantic competitors of legitimate industries that the country has ever known. Whatever else prohibition may or may not accomplish, it has broken the power of the whisky trust and the brewing industry to compete with the great industries that cater to the healthful needs of thousands of families heretofore unable to satisfy them. It has redirected in large part the expenditures of millions of people. In that redirection not only have the sobriety, health and earning capacity of the drinking family been benefited but many forms of business as well. This improvement comes not merely from the money saved that formerly went into the saloon; it is that plus the increased amount that workers, made more efficient by sobriety, are now earning.

Prohibition is beginning to play a part

in a way that was not anticipated in the age-old struggle between capital and labor. Increased wages and increased savings are yielding increased reserves for investment. Employes of railroads are large owners of the stock of some of the railroad companies. Labor unions are financing building operations, especially homes and apartments, in large cities. Labor banks are increasing, and savings accounts are growing in number and size. There are approximately 6,000,000 more holders of capital stock in the United States than there were when prohibition was adopted.

NEW WEALTH DIFFUSION

This new diffusion of wealth, in the opinion of Professor Carver, economist of Harvard, is due partly to the removal of the heavy burden of money heretofore lost in the saloon. He says: "The enormous waste of money on drink dissipated such savings as laboring men might otherwise have made from their low wages. Prohibition is tending to remove this hindrance." In a word, certain classes of working men, saving much of their former expenditure in this direction, have added to it additional savings from increased wage scales, have lived better, purchased automobiles by the millions, are paying steadily for homes, and, at the same time, out of their savings, are themselves becoming investors. This new tendency, as Professor Carver suggests, means that labor in America has started to become a capitalist, an owner of the stock of the company that employs him, or, as an editorial in the *Locomotive Engineer's Journal* says, "prohibition has ushered in a new day for the workers of America; labor must choose between putting the money over the saloon bar and putting it into labor cooperative banks; and the 'wholesome' wines and beer recommended by the A. F. of L. convention constitute the precise reason why millions of workers in Europe have never been able to secure as high a standard of living as have American workers—their brains are so pickled in alcohol that they cannot think straight."

Prosperity, higher wages, better organization—yes, but without drink banishment these great advantages would have yielded far less to labor than they have. Capital would have absorbed more of the results. In "the old days" increased prosperity meant increased drinking, then decreased efficiency. Now, it means increased comforts, opportunities, investments—and control over capital. While so-called "privileged classes" have been patronizing the

bootlegger, the working classes have been using the money that went into beer and are becoming capitalists.

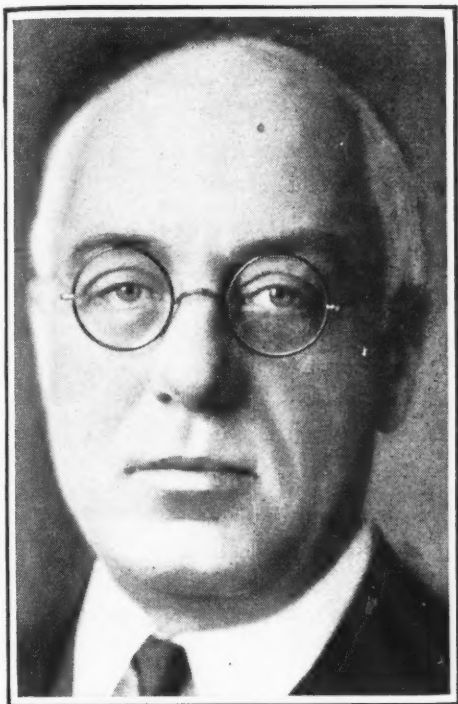
The influence of the saloon in politics has been broken and the vote that centred in it scattered. Theodore Roosevelt, when Police Commissioner of New York, revealed the political methods of the saloon when he said: "Naturally the saloon-keeper has stood high among professional politicians, who have been so prominent in New York politics for many decades. More than half of the political leaders of Tammany Hall at one time or another themselves have been in the liquor business. The saloon forms the natural club and meeting place for the ward leaders and 'heelers'—so much so that the barroom politician has become a recognized factor in local political Government. The saloonkeepers are always hand in glove with the professional politicians."

INFLUENCE ON POLITICS

"From 1870 to 1890 two-thirds of the voters of New York City," says an investigator of 1908, "were Irish and German peasants and their sons—persons who had never before been under a free Government. The chief social centres of these people were liquor saloons; and the owners of these saloons, who handled the votes, first for American manipulators and political criminals like Tweed, and later for themselves, delivered them in mass."

Not long before National Prohibition was proposed there were over 200,000 saloons in the United States. They had become very "class-conscious"; they were strongly organized and united against every restriction; they had built up a group of voters connected with each saloon that could be counted upon. This group included men naturally connected with the saloons because they wanted drink or wanted to sell drink; also, a large number who were so debauched by drink and poverty or so ignorant as to be ready to follow the saloon politician and his brewery owner for a drink or a dollar. This gave "the trade" at that time a definite, manageable and salable vote of millions. Such voters, led by saloon politicians, were a serious menace in elections. Whatever purchasable vote there might be in a city was sure to be within reach of the saloon.

Many unfortunate political practices that originated or gained their first wide use in saloon politics are yet active in other ways. But it may be said with confidence that the direct purchase of votes, the herd-



Harris & Ewing.

SEYMOUR LOWMAN

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in Charge of Prohibition

ing of drink-dependent voters, the trading of these corrupted masses to any grafting interest that needs them, the domination over immigrant groups—that none of these are as bald and extensive as when cities were crowded with legalized saloons as vote centres. Corruption of voters, bribery and excessive expenditure of money in election campaigns are often serious where liquor influence is not a conspicuous factor; yet the fact remains that the organized liquor traffic was one of the greatest promoters of vicious politics that ever existed in this country. The backbone of this power has been broken. At the same time, also, public support of National Prohibition has been registered politically by the return to Congress each two years since 1918 of an equal or greater number of Dry members than at the preceding election.

Another of the changes gradually taking place is one that goes to the sources of the drink problem in modern nations. It is a change in the fundamental motives leading men to the use of intoxicants in the first place—a change in the forces that keep

them at its use continuously after they have begun until a narcotic craving, with its consequent personal excess, its family destruction and its social burdens on the community, has been established as a life habit.

In the United States in the past and in most other countries today new generations of children coming into the world in communities where drink is a regular part of every-day life pass their childhood in a drink environment. They grew up under an alcoholic tradition. Home use, social use among friends, at the beer garden, the public house, the saloon, the club, are taken for granted; drink conditions prevail widely; its social customs prevail. With education and strength of character many go through with little apparent injury; but all too many in every such drinking society become drink victims. This has been true as far back as the general use of drink is found in human history.

Now, in the United States, especially in those States and counties which have tried a Dry régime longer than the eight years of National Prohibition, a new situation is developing. For the first time in the hundreds of years of Western civilization millions of youth are growing up or have already grown up in a social atmosphere comparatively free from drink traditions, from social compulsions to drink, from the relentless drive of liquor advertising, from the ever-beckoning presence of the saloon, and from the efforts of the organized liquor traffic to increase sales.

On the other hand, the chief motive prompting to drink now seems to be that of adventure and the sport of doing it—to see how it goes, to get a unique experience, to show one's own immediate group that it can be done. Much of the illicit drinking under prohibition is an expression of this tendency. It readily gains publicity, but it is more spectacular than serious. It appeals to many for a short time, but it does not establish life habits as did the social customs and the continuous attractions of the saloon in the past. It is temporary; it can hardly be otherwise, for the motive of adventure, gratified in one direction, turns naturally toward "other worlds to conquer." Then a reaction against drink itself is likely to occur. This tendency may help to explain why the many reports of drinking among college and high school youth are so generally refuted by the more thorough tests and expressions of student attitudes made in other ways.

On the whole, the removal from the com-

munity of the open, continuous source of drink supply, the saloon, or its equivalent under whatever name, the transfer of the social interests that centred in it to the automobile, the moving picture show and other healthful interests, the banishment of the immense advertising campaigns for whisky and beer that were conspicuous always, everywhere, throughout the United States fifteen years ago, and, most of all the breaking of the social tradition of the assumed desirability and necessity

of drink, which led so many children of the past easily and directly into the paths of excess as they grew to manhood, are taking out of the life of the nation the most influential sources of the drink evil in the United States.

These broad results so far, notwithstanding many failures and difficulties, would seem to indicate that very substantial progress has been made and that American prohibition is producing all that reasonable men might expect in eight years.

VIII.—The Eighteenth Amendment and Invasion of State Rights

By ALBERT C. RITCHIE

GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND

THE term State Rights is not a particularly well chosen one in connection with Prohibition. It harks back to the Civil War and bears the label of a lost cause, a cause no one would revive today. Yet it is the term which has always been applied to those who take the side of the States against advancing and encroaching Federalism of any kind, the side of less government against more government. It is so applied today and for that reason I accept it rather than adopt a term which would seem to me more expressive, such as State duty or State responsibility or local self-government.

It is, however, important not to misunderstand or misconceive the phrase and to remember that it has meant different things at different periods of our history. In Jefferson's day the term involved the fullest measure of liberty for the individual and the fullest freedom of action by the States within their reserved spheres, as evidenced by the demand that a Bill of Rights be added to the Constitution. Next it involved the right of a State to protest an act of Congress as unconstitutional instead of leaving that question to the courts. This was the point of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799 protesting against the Alien and Sedition Laws. It was the point of the declaration of Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1812 against the right of the Federal Government to call the State militia into service under Federal officers. It was the point too of the Hartford Convention in 1814,

when secession by the New England States was probably only avoided by peace. In Jackson's day State Rights involved opposition to a central or national bank. In Calhoun's day it involved the right of a State to nullify an act of Congress which it declared unconstitutional. In the Civil War it involved the right of nullification plus the right of a State to secede from the Union. This very brief review serves to show not only how real and vital have been the impacts which the doctrine of State Rights has aroused, but that the term has meant different things at different times.

"The question of the relation of the States to the Federal Government," Woodrow Wilson said in his *Constitutional Government*, "is the cardinal question of our constitutional government. At every turn of our national development we have been brought face to face with it and no definition either of statesmen or of judges has ever quieted or decided it. It cannot, indeed, be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question." Today we are face to face with another development of this relationship between the Nation and the States. It is a development become at last acute by the constantly expanding growth of Federal power at the expense of the powers and duties reserved to the States. Once the absorbing question was whether we were to be a nation at all, whether the Federal pow-

ers were to be supreme within the Federal sphere or whether the States could nullify them. The States were fearful for their existence and their struggle was for State supremacy over the Federal Government in the Federal domain. John Marshall and the Civil War settled that. Now the struggle of the States is for quite a different thing. It is for State existence against Federal transgressions in the State domain.

The term State Rights today involves the right of the States to local self-government as against the tendency of the Federal Government to deprive them of it more and more, and to centralize in the Federal Government more and more of the functions which constitutionally and traditionally belong to the States. It involves the right of the States to settle their home affairs at home and not to be deprived of this right by the Federal Government or by the other States, acting through the Federal Government. Illustrations of this are plentiful enough, but we are here concerned with only one, prohibition. This is essentially a State question. From the beginning of our Government we have always believed in the right of each State to settle in its own way questions which intimately concern the peace, the order, the morals and the personal conduct and habits of its people. On no other possible theory can national unity and national harmony be preserved in a country of more than 110,000,000 people, including 14,000,000 people of foreign birth, as well as a great colored population, residing throughout a territory 3,000 miles from sea to sea, comprising agricultural communities, industrial communities, urban settlements, rural settlements and the vast areas of the West, and reflecting everywhere differing opinions, wants, needs and traditions.

We were in fact actually solving the age-old problem of temperance by State determination. The people of each State were engaged in working it out for themselves, through State prohibition in States where that received the sanction of society, and through other measures, such as local option, in States where it did not, and these measures had either attained temperance or were rapidly attaining it in the localities where they had been adopted. Then National Prohibition and the Volstead act changed everything and undertook to apply over night the same fixed and uniform rule to all the people in all the States, without distinguishing at all between those who approved absolute prohibition and were

ready to adopt it or had already adopted it, and those who did not approve it and would not accept it.

THE REAL ISSUE

Here then is the real question. It is not at all a question of "Wet" or "Dry," to use the inept phrases of the hour. It is not a question of wanting to drink or of not wanting to. But putting Wets and Drys both aside, the question is essentially one of government, whether in this diversified land we are to have a nation-wide restriction on personal conduct, which encounters nothing but popular disapproval and opposition in some communities, however much it may be desired by others.

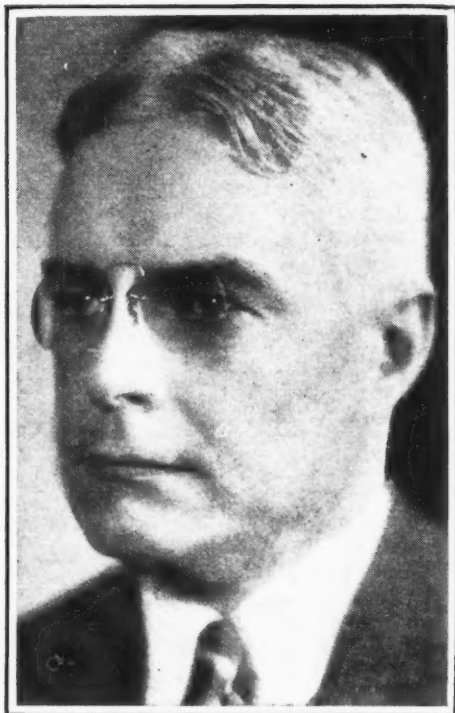
No greater interference by the Federal Government with the traditional rights of the States to local self-government can be imagined. The majority of the people in New York or New Jersey or Maryland or Illinois may not want this measure because they regard it as unsuited to their local conditions. This makes no difference. They must live under it anyhow, because other States, where the conditions may be vastly different, not content with having it for themselves, also want to impose it on everybody else and are sufficient in number to do so. The people who live under metropolitan conditions in great cities like New York and Chicago and Boston and St. Louis and Baltimore must submit to the influence and power of those who live in the country and in rural communities, or in other sections where the conditions and needs are altogether different.

An impulse which is basic not only in American democracy but in humanity as well is thus violated. The life of any law is its enforcement. No law is in fact a law unless it can be enforced. A law restricting personal freedom cannot be enforced until the moral precepts and conscience of those to whom the law applies approve it. Such a law must reflect the convictions of society. Its appeal must be answered by the will to obey. Whenever a law regulating personal conduct is made applicable throughout an entire country which contains communities in which the people, or a majority of the people, refuse to give it their sanction, that law will not be observed and cannot be enforced in those communities. Even if a majority of the people or representatives of three-fourths of the States favor this law, still it has no place in our governmental system. No majority is entitled to override the rights

of the minority. The rights of the majority are never in danger. They will always be preserved. The majority itself will see to that. It is the rights of the minority which are sometimes in peril. They are imperiled when the majority would use the power of government to dictate the personal practices of everybody. Uniformity or standardization may be essential in the field of mechanics. Quantity production may be impossible without them. But men are not Ford cars. Men are human beings and in the field of human conduct uniformity and standardization are often both undesirable and impossible to attain. The American system of dual sovereignty, with the States supreme in their local spheres, was devised in recognition of this fact and for the purpose of enabling men to be governed and at the same time preserve their individual liberties.

It is for reasons such as these that the American system of government demands that the question of prohibition be turned back to the States, where it belongs, so that each State may settle it in accordance with the convictions and needs and conscience of its own people, subject, of course, to the exercise of all effective measures to prevent abuse and with effective interstate regulations to protect States whose people may want absolute prohibition. In that way those communities which want complete prohibition can have it, but those that do not want it will not be clubbed into taking it anyhow. They will be free to adopt such regulatory measures as meet their own needs and conditions, and I believe that everywhere there will be a fuller measure of temperance and more respect for law and more effective enforcement.

Professor Siegfried, in his *America Comes of Age*, shows how hundreds of propagandist agencies, from the Anti-Saloon League to Korean Relief Societies, extending from the smallest county seat, through the State capitals, all the way up to the Federal Government itself, are able to make the laws of this country. Think what a small aggregate body these agencies need to work on even to get a constitutional amendment passed and ratified. Congress, of course, is a small and compact body for their efforts and on investigating the subject several years ago I found that there were something over 7,400 members of the forty-eight State Legislatures and that you could get a majority in each of thirty-six States with the votes of 2,316 members. The members of the State Legislatures may



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Governor of Maryland

have increased somewhat since then, but these figures are still practically correct. So there are only a few more than 2,300 legislators who have to be worked on and it is not necessary for a proposed amendment to have figured at all in the campaigns in which they were elected, and the Supreme Court has held that the people of the States have no power to set aside by referendum the action of their legislatures in ratifying an amendment.

Herein lies another danger of centralizing questions of this kind which are inherently State functions. It sets up the central government as a *parens patriae* and makes it the instrument of leagues and groups and militant minorities, who seek to make men over according to their own notions or to translate their own moral ideas or ideals into general legal precepts.

CHARGE OF NULLIFICATION

I may here refer to the stock argument of our prohibition friends. This is that the people of a State where national prohibition lacks popular sanction are nevertheless nullifiers of the Constitution if they do not pass a State law to enforce it. This

involves an obvious ignorance or disregard of the constitutional rights of the States, even under the Eighteenth Amendment itself. That amendment provides that "the Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." As Dr. Fabian Franklin remarks in his excellent book, *The A B C of Prohibition*, "when the Constitution says that the several States shall have the power to enact certain legislation it certainly does not mean that they shall be under the obligation to do so." That is the whole thing. If a volume were attempted no more complete answer could be given.

A State which refuses to pass a State enforcement measure does not in any sense defy the Constitution. The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act are both operative by their own force in every State in the Union. Any State can pass a similar or a more stringent State enforcement measure if it wants to. But no State is under any legal or moral or patriotic obligation to do so. Every State has the right to leave the enforcement of national prohibition within its borders to the Federal Government which enacted it. The law is the law of the Federal Government, exactly like the Harrison drug act, the Mann act and scores of others. No State is under any sort of duty to adopt the law as its own.

As I have said, it is entirely clear that the Eighteenth Amendment invades the sovereignty of the States which was reserved to them by the Constitution. The Supreme Court has held the amendment to be part of the Constitution and that question must, therefore, be considered settled, although no lawyer can read the powerful brief on this subject of Mr. Elihu Root without realizing the grave doubt which exists even on this point, a doubt to which the failure of the Supreme Court to file any written opinion contributes not a little. But there is no doubt at all that the amendment deals with the police powers of the States and no doubt at all that the States did not grant their police powers to the Federal Government but did reserve them to themselves. The amendment constitutes a complete departure from the principles of the American Constitution from its adoption in 1789 down to the ratification of the amendment in 1919. And this complete departure consisted in giving the Federal Government authority over a subject which had theretofore for 130 years confessedly and incontrovertibly belonged to the States.

It may be true that the amendment represents the culmination of a tendency toward nationalism which has been growing since the Civil War and to which many different factors have contributed. The result of the Civil War itself, with its emphasis on an indivisible union, perhaps gave the first impetus to the movement. Our increasing immigrant population brought with it a full measure of national allegiance, but in the nature of things did not bring the same measure of State allegiance which the descendants of the thirteen original colonies had and felt. New States which have been admitted have naturally lacked the history and the traditions which have inspired the original States to be jealous of their inherited rights. The interstate character of modern business and transportation and communication has tended to break down State boundaries. The World War has further served to give the nationalistic spirit. But if the Eighteenth Amendment represents in part the culmination of forces such as these, it is none the less true that it is by far the most advanced and startling manifestation of Federalism which the country has ever witnessed.

You may believe prohibition to be right or you may believe it to be wrong, but you cannot deny that it is a denial of personal liberty. As such it is foreign to the whole spirit of the Constitution. Until this amendment the Constitution contained no prohibition of a single personal act. All this was left entirely to the States. Every prohibition was addressed to the Federal or State Governments. Not one to the individual.

PURPOSE OF THE CONSTITUTION

I have tried to emphasize some of the dangerous and discriminatory consequences of this departure from American principles of government. The other very real danger to which I refer lies in the fact that the law is in the Constitution. I do not here refer to the admitted difficulty of getting it out again. That is bad enough, in all conscience. But if the amendment could be repealed tomorrow, it has nevertheless been demonstrated that such a subject can be written into the organic law of the land and the possibilities are appalling. Since the Supreme Court's decision sustaining the validity of the amendment I can only conclude that the power of amendment is without limit. Mr. Root's contention that the authority to amend the Constitution is a constitution-making power

and not a law-making power, and that it does not include the power to enact regulatory laws under the color of amendment was rejected by the Supreme Court. Therefore it seems clear that there is no limit on the character of amendments which may be adopted. If three-fourths of the State Legislatures can completely revolutionize the whole theory of the American Constitution by conferring police powers over the individual on the Federal Government, then three-fourths of the State Legislatures can revolutionize the Constitution in other ways. They can establish a State religion. They can prohibit freedom of religion. They can abolish trial by jury. They can abolish the Supreme Court, upon which the American system of constitutional law rests. They can abolish State sovereignties altogether, or take any or all of their inherent or reserved powers away from the States and transfer them to the Federal Government.

It is idle to say that this unlimited power of amendment does not threaten the existence of the States and therefore the very foundation of the American theory and

system of government. The Eighteenth Amendment has reduced the States to the category of mere subdivisions of the Federal Government so far as their control over liquor is concerned. The Twentieth Amendment would do the same thing so far as control over the labor of every one under 21 years of age is concerned. The proposition to do the same thing so far as education is concerned is already before Congress. Who can say what sovereign right of the States will be attacked next, or where the movement will stop? And so I plead for a return to the original and traditional American doctrine of local self-determination in solving this great question. Why lose faith in the self-governing powers of self-governing States? In spite of all human derelictions, it is still sound politics to trust men and to trust society and to trust the free play of individual freedom. Let us not make the mistake of putting too much faith in the policeman and too little in the moral value of moral ideals, as reflected by the spirit of right-living inherent in every American community.

IX.—Increasing Observance of Prohibition Laws

By JAMES J. BRITT

CHIEF COUNSEL OF THE BUREAU OF PROHIBITION

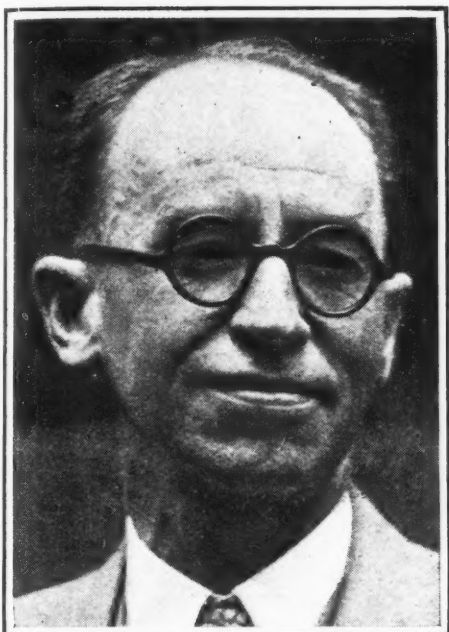
THE Eighteenth Amendment became effective on Jan. 16, 1920, the National Prohibition Act for its enforcement having been passed on Oct. 28, 1919. It marked a radical change in policy on a moral and economic question of tremendous import to the life of the nation. But the mighty liquor interests quickly rallied and the new policy at once met a challenge lacking none of the pungency and high fighting qualities of Americans who fancy their personal or property rights to be unwarrantably assailed.

Judicial interpretations of the new constitutional adventure were immediately invoked, already calling forth 2,400 lower Federal Court, 70 Supreme Court and more than 1,000 State court decisions, putting to the acid test of legal soundness all its essential provisions.

First and foremost, was the amendment itself constitutional? It was at once the

object of attack in all its vital parts. Able American lawyers claimed to have found weak spots in its armor. I shall briefly mention the principal questions drawn in issue, with an epitome of the holdings of the Supreme Court, from which it will be seen that its validity was sustained in every particular. To save space and to treat the subject in a popular, rather than a technical manner, I omit citations of cases and direct quotations from court opinions.

Had two-thirds of the members of both Houses of Congress deemed the amendment "necessary," as required by Article V of the Constitution? That the two houses, each by a two-thirds vote, had passed the joint resolution proposing the amendment was sufficient proof that it was deemed "necessary" by those voting for it, and an express declaration to that effect was not necessary. No previous amendment had contained a direct avowal of its necessity.



Underwood

JAMES M. DORAN
Commissioner of Prohibition

Was the amendment invalid because it had not received a two-thirds vote of all the members of each House, although admittedly receiving the votes of two-thirds of a lawful quorum? The constitutional requirement of a two-thirds vote in each House for a resolution of amendment is two-thirds of those voting, a lawful quorum being present, and not necessarily two-thirds of the whole membership.

Was prohibition of the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation and exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes within the amendatory powers of Article V of the Constitution? Although this was admittedly a police regulation and imposed a duty heretofore usually performed by the States, it was, nevertheless, within the amendatory powers of Article V of the Constitution.

What are the respective powers and duties of the Federal and State governments under the "concurrent power" provision of the amendment? Each jurisdiction is under the duty of enforcing the amendment, but neither is required to have the consent of the other to the enactment of legislation for that purpose, nor need their laws be co-extensive, but each must be within the objects of the amendment.

What is the meaning of the word "terri-

tory" as used in the amendment? It embraces all the land and adjacent waters over which the United States has dominion as a sovereign nation, including the ports, harbors, bays and other enclosed arms of the sea, together with a marginal belt of the sea from the coast line outward to the distance of a marine league, or three geographical miles.

May foreign and domestic vessels transport intoxicating beverage liquors within the territorial waters of the United States? No intoxicating beverage liquors, whether cargo liquors or ship stores, may be transported within the territorial waters of the United States; but medicinal liquors are permitted on both foreign and domestic vessels, and an exception has been made by treaty with twelve of the principal nations giving to their vessels the right to touch American ports with liquors on board in transit to foreign countries if kept under seal in return for the right of our Coast Guard vessels and revenue cutters to pursue rum-running vessels beyond the three-mile limit to a distance equal to an hour's sailing by the vessel pursued. American vessels are authorized to carry beverage liquors on the high seas beyond the three-mile limit.

VALID PART OF CONSTITUTION

What is the constitutional authority of the Eighteenth Amendment as compared with the other amendments and with the original Constitution? It has, by virtue of its lawful proposal and ratification, become a valid part of the Constitution and must be respected, obeyed and given effect in like manner as other provisions of that instrument.

The validity of the amendment being thus established, the Court addressed itself to certain disputed provisions of the National Prohibition Act. While the amendment prohibited the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, it neither defined intoxicating liquors nor named the alcoholic strength which they must contain to bring them within its inhibitions, but Congress, without declaring liquors of only one-half of one per cent. of alcoholic strength by volume necessarily to be intoxicating, nevertheless, fixed that degree of strength as the legal test, and the Supreme Court upheld its action as among the powers of the national legislature available for the enforcement of the amendment. Before this several of the States had imposed a similar limitation for a like pur-

pose, and since that time twenty-two States of the Union have prohibited the use of all potable intoxicating liquors of any alcoholic strength whatever for medicinal purposes.

Another question of fundamental importance was the validity of that provision of the act which limited the quantity of alcoholic liquors which a physician might prescribe for a patient to one pint within a period of ten days. This was resented by a large section of the medical profession as an invasion of their right to practice their profession in the treatment of diseases by denying to them a sufficient quantity of a necessary remedy. The court held that since the amendment itself imposed restrictions, its object being to prohibit the use of any intoxicating liquors whatever for beverage purposes, and particularly since a large number of physicians contended that intoxicating liquors were not necessary in the treatment of diseases, the restriction was within the implied powers conferred by the amendment and therefore valid.

The States of New York, Maryland, Montana, Nevada and New Mexico have no general prohibition laws, and the status of their police officers in relation to the enforcement of the National Prohibition Act has been in grave doubt, since the concurrent provision of the amendment imposes upon both the Federal and State Governments the duty of enforcing its prohibitions. In a recent case coming to the Supreme Court from the Northern District of New York, State troopers had seized an automobile containing unlawful liquors, arrested its occupants and turned the vehicle, liquor and men over to the Federal officers, as they said, in aid of the enforcement of the National Prohibition Act. The Court held that since the State of New York has no prohibition law and there was absence of either a search warrant or probable cause, as required by the National Prohibition Act, their action was unlawful and the conviction was reversed and the seized property returned; and it was furthermore held that the State of New York, having no prohibition law, is remitted to the National Prohibition Act for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and that its officers must follow the procedure and use the remedies provided therein in like manner as Federal prohibition officers. The implication of this far-reaching decision is that in States having no provision for the enforcement of the amendment the police officers thereof, if they assume the burden of enforcement, as it would seem they are constitutionally bound to do, either alone or

in association with Federal officers, must have resort to the National Prohibition Act, use its procedure and carry their cases into the United States courts. This does not, of course, settle the more important question whether such States are by failure to make provision for the enforcement of the amendment in default of their constitutional obligations, a question the delicacy of which will no doubt keep any action thereon in abeyance as long as possible.

Questions growing out of search and seizure have also received careful judicial attention. The frequent necessity for search warrants for private dwellings has provoked bitter resentment, and the Supreme Court has been called upon to re-examine the rights and duties involved in the law of search and seizure under the Federal statutes. All the guaranties of the Fourth and Fifth Amendments have been preserved, while technical obstacles have been removed and ill-founded claims to immunity have been denied, thus preserving all the safeguards of personal and property rights, yet making leeway for effective enforcement of the law. Wherever probable cause exists search warrants may be issued, as in other Federal cases, with the exception of private dwellings, where they are restricted to probable cause of unlawful sales only, all being safeguarded by the protecting limitations of the Espionage Act of 1917. In the case of unlawful liquors in automobiles and other vehicles, where to await a search warrant would give opportunity for escape, the court has so liberalized the rule as to waive the necessity for a search warrant, requiring only *bona fide* probable cause as a prerequisite of the right of search and seizure.

LAW NOW CLEAR

The highest court has thus so clarified the prohibition laws as to make their meaning practically obvious alike to lawyer and layman and render them suitable for their intended purposes, but it is believed that prohibition enforcement would be made still more effective by legislative provision for more severe criminal penalties, particularly for offenses now classed as misdemeanors.

But great as have been the advances in judicial interpretation, even greater progress has been made in methods of administration. The experience of the past eight years, with its successes and failures, has been fruitful of highly valuable lessons for the service. It was inevitable in the early days that official inquiries should be bungling and inefficient. Enforcement officers had entered upon their new and difficult

tasks without any training whatever and with but an equipment of little more than an official commission and an overabundance of zeal. Suspicions were taken for facts and peccadillos were magnified into crimes. Thousands of ill-prepared cases were thrust upon district attorneys, and a charge of incompetence or bad faith was likely to follow their failure to convict. Nothing better could have been expected. Though the officers were honest and well-intentioned, they knew almost nothing about their difficult and responsible duties. Devotion to party, loyalty to prohibition and abstinence from strong drink were usually deemed sufficient qualifications. Official ethics and the rights of the public were often disregarded.

Today all this is changed. Selections for appointment are made under the rules of the Civil Service, and no officer is permitted to enter upon his duties until he has taken a course of instruction in an officers' training school under instructors expert in every aspect of the work. Emphasis is laid alike upon fitness, loyalty and official behavior. This is producing a revolution in both the service and the public mind. Official investigations in the early days, superficially made, poorly reported and ill-prepared for the trial court, are now more efficiently made, reported more accurately and more thoroughly prepared for presentation in court. Serious offenses receive first attention and the courts are not burdened with trivial infractions. District attorneys are more energetic and aggressive, and there is greater respect for prohibition on the part of Judges and juries. Prohibition cases are now on equal footing with other cases in the courts of justice.

It is the aim of the Bureau of Prohibition, without press agents or blare of trumpets, to use all its available means for law enforcement; to allow, without stint or delay, the necessary quantities of alcohol and other spirits for industrial, medicinal and sacramental uses; to strive to secure and hold the cooperation of State, county and municipal officials; to enlist the interest of the public in the enforcement of the prohibition laws and to hold prohibition officers to high standards of efficiency, loyalty and uprightness of conduct.

ENFORCEMENT IMPROVING

Nor is there failure of fruitful results. While there are no official surveys Federal or State by either Drys or Wets that statistically show what advances have been made, statistics are not the sole or even the

best indicators of progress in a moral cause; the teachings of the human sense are the surest guides to what has been done. While, beyond doubt, large quantities of unlawful liquors are removed, sold and consumed, yet when compared with former withdrawals and consumptions he who runs cannot fail to read a marvelous change for the better. Great sections of the country have already been conquered to prohibition. The South and West are approaching a degree of enforcement scarcely less than that of other laws, and great strides have been made in the rural North and East, although the metropolitan centres yet lag behind. The highest of all proofs is the character of the sections of the national population that have come under the sway of prohibition and accepted it as their order of life. The churches in overwhelming majorities, and likewise their controlling bodies, have accepted it without qualification and demand its continuance; the colleges, universities and schools with rare exceptions are fully in line; the great industrial concerns, the powerful transportation companies, the rich mercantile and banking institutions, have recognized not only its economic value, but its moral worth as well and have wheeled in line. While there is still drinking in certain gay circles, even in places where there was none before, manifestly for notoriety, there is, nevertheless, a strong and growing tendency throughout the nation to regard it as a weak and demoralizing practice and to remove it from the lives of the people. No one has been able to make a case for intoxicating liquor. It is practically taboo by respectability everywhere. The childish contention that prohibition is an infringement of personal liberty causes only a smile. The determination to carry on and to carry through seems to be everywhere growing stronger.

Nor is it our national habit to weaken in moral progress. It would be a contradiction of our national life. In a bold spirit of derringdo the moral forces of the nation destroyed slavery and the slave trade, polygamy in the territories and the great State lotteries and have now put the saloon under the ban of their condemnation. A moral step so far-reaching the world has not before known. And in it America is leading the world. As in all our history we have kept our faces to the front, in this, next to religion our greatest moral experiment, there will be no turning back; prohibition will be embodied in the moral creed of the nation and be honored, not in the breach, but in the observance.

Asquith's Place in World History

By H. WICKHAM STEED

FORMER EDITOR OF THE LONDON *Times*

IN Asquith's long public career, one day—Aug. 2, 1914—was decisive. It revealed his character and marked his place in history. Early in the morning news came that German troops had invaded the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg at dawn, thus violating a neutrality which the European Powers had jointly guaranteed. A British Cabinet Council was summoned, Asquith presiding. He and three or four of his colleagues who held that Great Britain must take part in the European war, which was extending to the West, were opposed by more than a dozen other Ministers who insisted that Great Britain must remain neutral. The "Peace Party" in the Cabinet proposed, nevertheless, that the British fleet should be ordered to protect the coasts and shipping of France, if they should be attacked by a German fleet coming through the North Sea or into the English Channel. After the Cabinet Council the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey (now Lord Grey of Fallodon), was authorized to give a memorandum in this sense to M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador. On receiving it, Cambon asked about the violation of Luxemburg. Grey told him that, according to the British doctrine laid down by Derby and Clarendon in 1867, the guarantee of Luxemburg was collective, not individual, and that Great Britain was not called upon to uphold it if other guarantors failed to respect it. Cambon then inquired about the neutrality of Belgium. Grey admitted that this was a much more important matter, and that the Government were considering whether they should declare a violation of Belgian neutrality to be a case for war, but that it might be impossible safely to send any British military force out of the country.

Fresh from his interview with Grey, Cambon received me toward midday. He told me what Grey had said about Luxemburg, but did not allude to Belgium. He only exclaimed bitterly that he did not know whether the word "honor" might not soon have to be struck out of the British vocabulary.

In all this tension Asquith was seemingly imperturbable. In the Cabinet Council he made no speech, but merely talked with his colleagues individually in a quiet tone. Though his own mind was made up, he did not use his authority as Prime Minister

to force the issue. In the evening Grey, who was then staying at Haldane's house in Queen Anne's Gate, five minutes' walk from the Prime Minister's residence at 10 Downing Street, received a dispatch saying that Germany was likely to invade Belgium. Grey and Haldane talked it over and walked across to see Asquith at Downing Street. The three of them agreed that, if the Germans were really to invade Belgium, a decision must be taken at once, since minutes might count not as hours but as years. Asquith, who was at that moment Acting-Secretary for War, gave Haldane written authority to mobilize the British Expeditionary Force next morning. Then, still outwardly unmoved, Asquith wrote a note to the French Ambassador telling him of the decision and saying that it was a precaution against the event of a German invasion of Belgium. He sent the note by an official messenger to the French Embassy—and, when it had gone, could not for the life of him remember whether he had not addressed it to the German Ambassador. He, Grey and Haldane spent an anxious fifteen minutes until the joyous voice of Cambon on the telephone acknowledged the note.

Ever since Lord Haldane told me, in March, 1924, of this episode and Asquith afterward admitted its substantial truth, I have thought it an epitome of Asquith's temperament and character. He was a man of strong intellect and deep feeling, the brain so strong as to keep the feeling under. Now and again, in exceptional circumstances, the feeling would break bounds. When brain and feeling worked together he deserved the affectionate nickname—"The Sledgehammer"—given him by his predecessor, Campbell-Bannerman. At other times his body seemed to house naught save cold, massive intellect.

I saw him once amid the roughest storm that troubled his later years. As a national duty he had promptly supported the Conservative Government when the General Strike broke out at the beginning of May, 1926. Mr. Lloyd George had acted otherwise, and Asquith presently called him to account in a letter severer than any former Prime Minister had written to another former Prime Minister within living memory. In the Liberal Party a cyclone raged. At its centre all was calm. Never did I

see Asquith more serene than at that moment. He had done what his judicial mind and his sense of public duty had convinced him was right, and he cared little what might be crushed by the sledgehammer blow he had struck.

Could this be the Asquith of "Wait and see"? He was assuredly a master of judicious postponement, but he never waited when he thought the sands had run out. True, he might not always see how quickly they were running out. Morley used to say of him that he would have made a great Judge. He was loth to pass sentence until he had weighed all relevant facts and arguments—and no Judge could be more ruthless than he in thrusting aside the irrelevant—but, when he spoke, his conclusion seemed irresistible.

A RADICAL LIBERAL

Officially, Asquith was a Liberal. In ideas he was a Radical and, by temperament, a Whig. He led the Liberal Party steadily and sturdily. He carried through the most radical legislation that had been passed for the better part of a century, but his "form" had much in common with that of the great Whigs. Though of middle-class stock and Nonconformist origin, he was molded decisively by Jowett, the great Master of Balliol College, Oxford. He bore the Oxford stamp through mature life. It set the classical hall-mark upon his natural stoicism; and when electoral mishap forced him to choose between withdrawal from Parliamentary life and the acceptance of a peerage, it was not unfitting that he should have entered the House of Lords as the "Earl of Oxford and Asquith." Most of his friends regretted that decision. They thought it a diminution of his personality, almost a degradation for so stalwart a House of Commons man. It was hard to call him by his new title; and when he was made a Knight of the Garter, nobody imagined that he could take any especial pleasure in it. He bore these "honors," or burdens, lightly. His manner never changed; and he may have been secretly gratified to know that the public continued to call him "Asquith." With his death the trappings and bedizenments of a rank to which he never aspired have fallen from him. Asquith he was and Asquith he will remain.

Historically, Asquith belonged to the pre-war generation. In common with many of his fellows, some of them his juniors, he never acquired what came to be known after 1914 as "the war mind." He may or

may not have thought the war inevitable. Perhaps, like Sir Edward Grey, he knew too little of the actual working of forces on the Continent of Europe to realize that, after the humiliation of Russia by Germany at the end of the Bosnian Annexation crisis in the Spring of 1909, the peace of Europe must be at the mercy of any fresh Austro-Serbian quarrel in which the Hohenzollerns should support the Habsburgs. His firm grasp on political principles in home affairs scarcely extended, in the same degree, to the principles of foreign affairs, nor did he quite understand that international politics are apt to be conducted in an ethical vacuum in which certain data acquire the absolute validity of mathematical formulas. The Cabinet had been secretly warned by Haldane, after his visits to Germany in 1906 and 1912, that German naval and military preparations were formidable, but Ministers chose not to reveal in public the fears they felt. They left the initiative to Germany. They preferred quietly to let Haldane prepare a British Expeditionary Force, on the assumption (which Haldane held to be justified as early as 1906) that, should war break out, the Germans would seek to strike at England through Belgium and the northern ports of France. Asquith supported Haldane in organizing this force, just as he supported all Grey's efforts to reach an agreement with Germany upon the Baghdad Railway question, and even to revise the old Anglo-German Treaty of 1899 for the partition of the Portuguese colonies between England and Germany in case Portugal should wish to dispose of them. In none of the manifestations of the pre-war years was Asquith's language or bearing ever provocative. The most bellicose statement of those years was made by Lloyd George—on his own initiative, albeit with the assent of Grey—in the famous Mansion House speech during the Agadir crisis of July, 1911. Asquith came, in fact, to be suspected of almost undue intimacy with the German Embassy; and up to the Summer of 1914 the social if not the political relations between 10 Downing Street and the German Ambassador were, to say the least, as close as they were with the Ambassadors of France and Russia.

AS A WAR MINISTER

Nevertheless, when the danger of war actually arose, Asquith faced it without flinching. Thanks mainly to him and to Grey, Great Britain and the British Dominions went into the struggle united, and

with the approval of a united country and of all save three Liberal Ministers. Lloyd George forsook the pacifist minority at the last moment. This degree of union was Asquith's outstanding achievement. For him, as for Grey, the war was a fearful wrench. They may or may not have felt that an iron curtain had fallen forever upon the pre-war stage, and that the stage itself was being consumed in the conflagration. If they felt it, they mourned over it. Not theirs the joy of battle or the hard conviction that the shortest way through the ordeal would be to hit the enemy by night and by day, employing every agency, political as well as military, with utter determination. They were men of peace forced into war. The dynamic ruthlessness of the "war mind" was alien to them. Had it prevailed in the Asquith Cabinet from the outset, the shortage of munitions and artillery that crippled Great Britain for the first two years of the war would hardly have been so prolonged, and conscription, instead of coming toward the end of 1916, might well have come after the battle of the Marne. The waste of human quality entailed by the raising of "Kitchener's armies" under a voluntary system of enrolment might have been in part avoided, and a proportion, at least, of the 800,000 fine fellows who joined them—the natural leaders of future generations—might have been saved to leaven the mighty lump of the national conscript armies of 1917-1918. Asquith honestly did his best as a war leader. After a time he realized the shortage of munitions and eventually carried the Conscription bill through Parliament—as, perhaps, only a great parliamentarian such as he could have carried it. But he was not a Minister born with a talent for war.

By the end of 1916 the country was more warlike than the Government. It was calling for a leader who should be wholly a man of war. Lloyd George divined its desire and its need. Urged by Northcliffe, he took a course that laid him open to the charge of having ungratefully supplanted a chief to whom he had owed his retention of a place in public life after the Marconi shares inquiry. The ethics of his action will long be discussed. There was right on both sides, but the standards of the two men differed. Asquith's standards were classical, traditional, Oxfordian and English with the solid Englishness of Yorkshire. Those of Lloyd George were unacademic, self-taught, almost plebian, and Celtic with the ebullient exuberance of Wales. The one was a stoic in self-control,

loyal in his very fibre, measured and stately, selfless but lacking the touch of genius that sees the thing most needful in a maze of complexities. The other lived for the war and burned with desire to lead the country to victory—for its sake and his own. The emergency may well have seemed to him such as to override sentiment and to warrant him in demanding full scope to wage the war without let or hindrance. He had already given up the Chancellorship of the Exchequer—and the probable reversion of the Premiership—in order to throw his whole daemonic energy into the provision of an efficient and adequate supply of guns and ammunition. Asquith had lost ground by stating, on April 20, 1915, against the evidence of facts, that the operations in the field had not been crippled by lack of munitions—only to find himself compelled by national feeling to reconstruct his Government with the help of the leading Conservatives and to let Lloyd George organize the Ministry of Munitions in so vigorous a fashion that the British Armies were soon able to meet the enemy on equal terms.

ATTITUDE TO LLOYD GEORGE CABINET

With this achievement to his credit, and after Asquith had secured Parliamentary assent to conscription, Lloyd George called for drastic changes in the Cabinet War Committee. He proposed that he himself should be its Chairman while Asquith should remain Prime Minister. Asquith refused and Lloyd George resigned. The partisans of the two men quarreled, and Asquith resigned in his turn. Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declined to succeed him, and Lloyd George became Prime Minister of a second Coalition Cabinet.

He offered Asquith a seat in it and, if report be true, Asquith, with selfless patriotism, was disposed to accept. Jealousy, false pride or even justified personal resentment were alike foreign to his character. But some of his friends, among whom Reginald McKenna is understood to have been foremost, persuaded him to reject the offer, and the Lloyd George Administration was formed without him or Grey. Nevertheless Asquith, and Grey, helped the new Government and did all they could to keep up the spirit of the nation. Their conduct made it the less explicable that, at the end of war, Lloyd George should have declined Asquith's offer to assist the Government in the negotiation of peace. This was a blunder far worse than that of Asquith in refusing a seat in

Lloyd George's Cabinet—a blunder, moreover, that laid Lloyd George open to the double charge of ingratitude and shortsightedness. If Lloyd George was Asquith's superior as a man of war, Asquith's judicial temperament and balanced moderation made him far superior to Lloyd George as a man of peace. Who can say how the Paris Peace Conference might have turned if Asquith and Grey had been members of the British delegation?

We know, as yet, little of Asquith's thoughts in those days. His old constituency of East Fife had rejected him by a majority of 2,000 in the "Khaki" general election of December, 1918. It was significant, though hardly a compensation, that Horatio Bottomley should, in the same election, have been returned to Parliament by a majority of 10,000. Asquith's private papers will one day see the light. For the moment we have only his *Fifty Years of Parliament*, which scarcely goes beyond the end of July, 1914, when, on the eve of war, he had suspended the Irish Home Rule act. Between that period and Asquith's re-election to Parliament in 1920 the war had dug a deep gulf; and, as a political leader in domestic affairs, the better part of his life lay on the yonder side of the gulf. Yet one notable thing he did. He put Labor into office, as a minority Government, at the end of 1923, and kept it there for nearly a twelvemonth. Thus he brought it into the orbit of the Constitution and gave its leaders a chance to learn administration responsibility. It was an apt ending to his House of Commons career which had begun in 1886 after Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule for Ireland. Long before he entered Parliament Asquith had been a prominent Liberal. At Oxford he had been President of the Union, showing, as one of his contemporaries wrote, "maturity and sagacity and an essentially practical genius." At the bar he was no less eminent than at the university, the sound vigor of his advocacy attracting the attention of Judges. In the House of Commons he was recognized as a future leader from the moment he made his maiden speech; and when Gladstone formed his last Government in 1892, Asquith showed that he had chosen a political rather than a legal career by declining the post of Solicitor-General and accepting that of Home Secretary.

In this office he soon proved his mettle. No amount of abuse could trouble his equanimity. If he gained no popularity he earned respect. Popularity, indeed, he never sought. Against the tendencies of the

Radical wing of his party he presently defended the Conservative Government in the South African War, and supported the inclusion of the two Boer Republics in the South African Union. He seemed destined to lead the "Liberal Imperialist" group until, in May, 1904, Joseph Chamberlain startled the country with a new tariff reform policy. Then, in defence of free trade, the Liberal Party came together again, with Asquith as its intellectual leader. For eighteen months he fought Chamberlain up hill and down dale, answering speech by speech and showing greater powers of critical analysis and logical reasoning than any public man in the country. He became "the sledgehammer." To him the defeat of Joseph Chamberlain's fiscal policy was principally due.

His future was now assured. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in Campbell-Bannermann's Liberal Government at the end of 1905 and, on Campbell-Bannermann's resignation in 1908, Asquith inherited, as Prime Minister, the huge majority which the Liberals had won in January, 1906. Lloyd George succeeded him at the Exchequer. It was then that the radical quality of Asquith's views was revealed. Without his support the famous Lloyd George Budgets, with their heavy taxes upon the rich and the well-to-do, could never have been passed, nor would the Old Age Pensions or the Sickness Insurance schemes have become law. The House of Lords rejected the budgets, and Asquith determined to break the Lords' resistance. For two years, and in two successive general elections, he fought them implacably, bringing in a Parliament bill that destroyed their veto on financial measures and ultimately securing the King's assent to the creation, in case of need, of enough new peers to swamp the recalcitrant majority in the Upper House. With invincible determination he shattered an obstacle to reform against which Liberal Governments had struggled in vain since the Reform bill of 1832.

In the course of this struggle his majority was so reduced that he became dependent upon the votes of the Irish Nationalists. They exacted their price. Asquith, a convinced Home Ruler, was not loth to pay it. He brought in and carried the Irish Home Rule bill which proposed to set up a single Parliament for Ireland with authority over everything except the Crown, the army and navy and the making of war and peace. The Ulstermen opposed it, raised a large volunteer force to resist it,

and in the Spring of 1914 procured arms from Germany. The Irish Nationalists, for their part, enrolled the Irish Volunteers. "Incidents" at the Curragh Camp showed that the British regular officers in Ireland would refuse to fight the Ulstermen, just as many of them had refused in the eighteenth century to fight the American Colonists. Civil war between Irishmen seemed imminent. Colonel Seely, the Secretary for War, resigned, and Asquith promptly took over the War Office himself. Thus it befell that he was Acting Secretary for War on the evening of Aug. 2, when he delegated these functions to Haldane, whom, under pressure of public opinion, Lord Kitchener presently replaced. Asquith has been criticized for discarding Haldane, who was—unjustly, yet not without fault of his own—looked upon as pro-German. Rightly or wrongly, Asquith yielded to the public cry for Kitchener.

Criticism is easy, but Asquith's responsibilities were terrific. During the anxious weeks after the murder of the Austrian Heir Apparent at Sarajevo on June 28, Asquith had to discharge his own duties as Prime Minister, to help and support Grey in striving for peace, to supervise as Acting War Minister the preparation of the Expeditionary Force for all emergencies and to avert, if possible, civil war in Ireland. As we now know, the expectation of war in Ireland was a determining factor in Germany's decision to invade Belgium and to attack France. The German Emperor's private informant, the late Professor Schiemann, had been sent to Ireland to report on the prospects, and the German Secret Service was minutely informed of the impending conflict. Thus did Ireland combine with the Sarajevo crime to set Europe ablaze.

One question of great importance arises at this stage: How far was Asquith personally responsible for the failure of the British Government to do the one thing that might have postponed the Great War, perhaps indefinitely? Why did not the British Government tell Germany that if she attacked France through Belgium she would find Great Britain ranged against her? The answer lies partly in the condition of the British Liberal Party and partly in the Constitution of the British Empire. Asquith had followed a home policy (including the Home Rule policy for Ireland) that had aroused violent passions. In that policy his most vigorous supporters were men and groups of pacifist, not to say pro-German, tendency. Skillful German propa-

ganda had led them to look upon France as a danger to peace. If at any moment in July, 1914, Asquith and Grey had declared that Great Britain would side with France they would have split the Government and the country. Some of the dominions might have hesitated to make common cause at once with Great Britain had war followed upon a British declaration of policy susceptible of interpretation as provocative. Asquith and Grey doubtless suspected, though they did not know, that the neutrality of Belgium—which Great Britain was pledged individually, not collectively as in the case of Luxemburg, to defend—would be violated by Germany in the event of a German attack on France. Therefore they strove for peace, hoping against hope that Germany would act as a brake upon Austria-Hungary and assent to mediation between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Only when Belgium was actually on the point of being invaded could or did Asquith actually make his decision, and then he made it as the leader of a united nation. This is his title to enduring fame.

What will be his place in British history? Will he rank as a national figure with Pitt, Disraeli and Gladstone? He will certainly be remembered as one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest, among the parliamentarians of the nineteenth century, a leader whose mastery over the House of Commons was never surpassed and hardly equalled. He spoke majestic English in the grand manner. If his cold exterior sometimes repelled the impulsive, if he made fewer friends than more genial statesmen have won, he never betrayed a friend once made and never allowed personal pique or vanity to stand in the way of a colleague. He was trusted as few leaders have been trusted. When things went wrong or mistakes were made by subordinates he stood forward to bear the responsibility. When things went well and others were entitled to credit it was he who bestowed it on them. As Lord Grey aptly said in the House of Lords: "In fact, it was as if he were willing that his own personality should be a shelter in adversity, but in fair weather he would stand aside lest he throw a shadow on any colleague who was entitled to the light."

As the years go by Asquith's stature will grow in retrospect. He was a great English gentleman, a statesman of no mean order and a character whose virtues will command admiration as long as respect for integrity in public life shall endure.

Converting the Churches to State Education

By MARK MOHLER

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SUICIDES, skepticism and godlessness among students are often charged against our State school system today as in the past. The question involved is clearly that of the relation of religion and education, but the purpose of this article is simply to show the present attitude of the churches toward our modern public instruction. To understand the proposed solutions of the problem, one must first see certain elements of the historical background.

Colonial education combined both the religious and the political motives. One of the first acts of the Massachusetts General Court was to order the selectmen to "see that all children and youth" were taught "the English tongue," "the capitall lawes," "some orthodox chattechisme" and "some honest employment," in order that they should be brought up "in all Christian nurture, as the lawes of God & this comonwealth doth require." In the tutorial schools provided for in 1647, marking the beginning of free public instruction, the Bible was used as a textbook of literature, history and so forth, with moralizing at every turn. This situation was reproduced in Connecticut and New Hampshire. Outside the New England theocracies, instruction was left almost entirely to the voluntary action of the churches; but each sect, like the Massachusetts Puritans, sought to train its rising generations in the religious-political principles underlying its own social organization. As long as a community remained homogeneous, its schools (if it had any), though parochial, would be practically public institutions.

With the movement for free State-controlled schools about 1830, the problem entered a new phase. In accord with the principle of separation of Church and State, this innovation was urged on the basis of the political motive for education, which was in sharp conflict with the traditional view. A common charge against the Catholic Church has been that it has opposed universal education and the public schools, but so did all the sects a century ago. After the policy had become established, the

Methodist Quarterly (1870) declared: "Popery or the common school must go down. There is absolutely no alternative." Yet in that same year *The Cathlic World* could say: "We are decidedly in favor of free public schools for all the children of the land," and praised the Puritans for their contribution to this development.

Unlike the Protestants, however, Catholic authorities did not recede from the position that instruction is the function of the Church, rather than of the State. *The Catholic World* (1870) declared that "universal suffrage" required "universal education," which in turn was "not practicable unless provided for at public expense," but it objected to divorcing instruction "from religion and religious culture." In answer to the resulting question of agency, this writer advocated that the churches be given the administration of the schools and that the public funds be divided.

Seconding the demand for the division of funds, the *American Catholic Quarterly* (1877) prophesied: "Let the public school system of the free religionists do its unwholesome work ten or twelve years longer and we venture to predict that the United States of America will become a huge mass of corruption."

Protestant leaders, also, maintained "the necessity of uniting religion with secular instruction," as Francis Parkman, prominent Unitarian clergyman of Boston, put it. In 1870, the Northern Presbyterians, in harmony with other sects, saw a serious danger in removing all religious teaching from the public schools. Yet they opposed the proposition for the division of the tax funds because that would eliminate the "common" feature of those institutions, but they offered no other solution of the problem. An exception to these views was presented in the *Baptist Quarterly* (1877) by Henry M. King, prominent minister of that sect. Common school instruction, he said, "must be neither Protestant nor Catholic, Theistic nor Atheistic, but simply secular." Therefore he would discontinue even Bible reading therein. "Men," he added, "have not yet outgrown the idea, at least some

men have not, that the common schools are virtually Sunday schools, established by the Church in the interests of religion."

As the public schools developed steadily, Protestants abandoned the field of the grammar grades to the States and devoted themselves increasingly to the maintenance of secondary and higher educational institutions. This is shown by the action of the Methodist General Conference in 1864 and of other denominational bodies about that time. Dr. King, mentioned above, went further, arguing that advanced instruction should be left entirely to private enterprise, because, among other reasons, many of these studies have "a bearing on those great subjects which belong to the domain, not of the State but of religion and of the Church." Nevertheless, realizing the inevitable, certain church leaders of the pioneer West aided in founding State universities, especially since denominational funds proved inadequate to keep up with the onward moving demand for educational facilities. Thus, the notion of sectarian control of these new public institutions was carried into the frontier, and apparently some people "have not yet outgrown the idea." Now that it has become so clearly understood how inevitable is the influence of modern knowledge on religious belief, the whole question of the relation of the churches to State education has been raised again, particularly by the anti-evolution movement.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

What are the proposed solutions? *The Christian Register* (Unitarian) of recent date endorses the demand of "twelve Protestant ministers of St. Louis" against the Missouri anti-evolution bill, "that the teaching of science be left to the schools and the teaching of religion to the churches, and that no law be passed that will in any way restrict or interfere with the freedom of either." But the question is raised, Can there be such a separation? The evolution theory is as completely interwoven into the whole educational fabric as was the catechism in the Puritan plan of instruction and it is to this that the Fundamentalists object.

Division of funds is still advocated by Catholic authorities. Says Father J. H. Ryan in *The Catholic World* (1922): "The Church cannot regard as satisfactory any system of education in which religion is not the foundation of the whole curriculum."

* * * It is almost beyond belief that

the public school authorities, due to pressure brought to bear on them by religious organizations, will ever change so completely the direction of the public school as to bring it in line with Catholic philosophy of education." They protest, not against education, but against so-called secularized instruction, and it is because this sentiment has been revived among practically all sects that the problem looms so large today. Having failed thus far to secure acceptance of their proposal, the Catholics have greatly expanded their own facilities for all grades with church funds. This development is especially significant in that it parallels two others—the marked tendency to secularize the administration and teaching of other private institutions and the decided increase in the taxes for the support of public schools and universities, which means that the Catholic citizen assumes a double burden. In this latter fact is another motive for seeking the division of public funds.

Protestants, who seem to agree that the State should continue to administer as well as to finance education, are divided on how to overcome the effects of secularizing the instruction. One group holds that the majority of voters should determine what interpretations of the various subjects are to be taught in tax-supported institutions. The Rev. W. B. Riley of Minneapolis, President of the World Christian Fundamentalist Association, explaining its new policy as outlined at the ninth annual convention in 1927, declared: "It will be based on the claim that the State-supported schools have no right to teach a philosophy of life that in reality is a religion or an irreligion; a philosophy that is unproven and that is objectionable to the great majority of the patrons of these institutions." Extending the principle to other fields of study, a recent North Carolina bill would have condemned teaching the arts and sciences "in such manner as to contradict the fundamental truths of the Holy Bible," and a similar measure appeared in New Hampshire. A corollary proposition, which at one time was generally urged by Protestant organizations and was revived by Mr. Bryan in his Fundamentalist campaign, is an amendment to the Federal Constitution declaring this to be a Christian country founded on the Scriptural revelation. But the legislative program of this group has not prospered of late, every such bill having been defeated during 1927, though the close vote in certain cases suggests the possibility of future success for the efforts now systematically planned for all the States.

The tendency in State-controlled instruction (though by no means always so understood) might be expressed in an adaptation of a well-known proverb, Hue to the line of freedom for the teacher, let the chips of religious implication fall where they may. But the chips have been playing havoc with the religion of youth, we are told, not only by Fundamentalists, but also by liberals as well. The prophesied doom has not yet fallen despite "the godless system," but warnings still re-echo with every student suicide or social scandal. An Episcopal Bishop advocates that certain professors shoot themselves—which seems rather too much to expect, especially when such acts have already been charged against their teaching. A moderate but comprehensive statement of the problem was made by President Henry C. King of Oberlin in his address as Moderator of the National Congregational Council in 1921. "The war," he said, "has no clearer lesson for the Church than the comparative failure of its religious education," since the soldiers generally lacked a "vital Christian faith." "No institution of learning can minister to the whole man, which, by its inevitable limitations as tax-supported, cannot permeate its life and teaching with the great facts and spirit of religion." This view was also presented in *Christian Education* (interdenominational) for November, 1927.

INADEQUATE RELIGIOUS TRAINING

Since the World War, the National Protestant assemblies have repeatedly considered the problem. The general tenor of their complaint is that "neither the homes nor the churches nor the schools" provide an adequate religious training, and that a solution must be found or disaster will befall both Church and society. They recognize that the Sunday schools do not meet the need, because so small a proportion of the children of the nation attend and the instruction for the most part is ineffective, because of lack of class time, teacher preparation and pupil interest. Even when they are rechristened "church schools," with sessions on week days, these institutions do not balance in the youthful mind the public schools which devote so much more time and effort to secular subjects. The denominations, moreover, realize that they cannot compete in the field of education with the States which have unlimited financial resources, offer free tuition, and so attract the great mass of students. Another fact, less clearly seen, is that the very efforts of the sects to make their own insti-

tutions religious turn American youth away because of the suspicion that instruction in such cases is not free; and the tendency during the last generation or more to remove private academic administration from ecclesiastical control might be taken as evidence in their favor. More often human perversity is blamed for allowing the swelling "rah-rah" of life in the big university to drown the still, small voice of "spiritual culture" in the church college.

For these Protestants, therefore, the problem has been one of combining religion with public education, (to quote President King), "Church and State working together for a great result neither could achieve alone." Recently, the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D. D., President of the National Protestant Federation, in answer to a question on the causes of student suicides, referred to various conditions, but concluded that, if we taught "the great, true faith of the Bible, we should lay a foundation for our youth of which they are being deprived by our system of public education at the present time." So serious does the situation appear to certain leaders that in 1927 Protestants and Catholics, including Cardinal Hayes of New York, united in an appeal for the cooperation of all faiths to solve the problem.

To meet this condition, however, the liberals do not propose any limitation on teachers' freedom. On the contrary, the Congressionalists "deplore" such a policy, as they declared in their national council; and President E. Y. Mullins of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and of the Baptist World Alliance declared that "it is a blunder and foreign to the New Testament faith to lay hold on Legislatures and the civil power to compel certain interpretations of the Bible." None of the leading denominations have officially sanctioned the anti-evolution movement, although the Fundamentalists are strong in all of them. On the other hand, nineteen of the principle Protestant bodies have formed the Council of Church Boards of Education for the purposes of carrying out a program of religious instruction during public school hours to supplement the regular curriculum. The plan is as follows: On the request of the parent, a child is assigned at fixed periods each week for the study of religion under a teacher designated by the parent. These teachers are appointed and supported by the sects, but their qualifications are to be the same as for other instructors. Likewise, the standard of work and the credit granted are determined as for other subjects. Where no legal bar prevents, these

classes have sometimes been held in the school buildings; otherwise, in rooms provided by the churches. Textbooks and study materials have been issued by the various denominational publishing houses. In connection with State colleges and universities, the Council advocates the establishment of what are usually called schools of religion, maintained either by one sect or several co-operating. By arrangement with the academic authorities, courses completed in these schools count up to a certain maximum toward a degree.

Several schools of religion have been established, for example, in Kansas and Michigan. The curriculum includes courses in the Bible, the Philosophy of Religion, the Principles of Religious Education, and so forth; but in certain cases academic opposition to this larger program has confined the credit to biblical studies. *Christian Education* (November, 1927), the journal of the Council, announces the unique case of such a school having just been opened as a department of the arts college in the University of Iowa, with its courses listed in the general catalogue. A Catholic, a Jewish and a Protestant professor, supported by their respective constituencies, make up the Faculty, and the enrolment is ninety-five. Week-day religious instruction on public school time has been adopted in about eight hundred communities in over twenty States, including large cities like Cleveland. In New York City, Catholics and Protestants have united to secure the arrangement there. Laws sanctioning this policy have been passed in Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon and South Dakota, while court decisions in two States and official rulings in eight others have protected it. Even where legislation has been rejected, or no action taken, the plan is proceeding without interference. Over 125 communities in New York State inaugurated these classes before the Freethinkers Society sought to have the State Superintendent of Education stop them. The Court of Appeals, however, decided that it was not contrary to the Constitution to dismiss the students for this purpose; but the objectors propose to go to the Federal courts.

THE FUNDAMENTALIST DEMAND

Ecclesiastical and pedagogical as well as legal opposition has been raised to this whole program, but these points cannot be considered here. Suffice it to note that the plan is fundamentally different from the Puritan system. In the latter case religious implications were drawn from every lesson

for all students, not left to a voluntary supplemental discussion. Realizing this fact, some insist that "religion should be taught through the public school curriculum." As the Rev. Clarence E. MacCartney, D. D., leading Fundamentalist, explains, not "distinctive doctrines," but "definite instructions as to the existence of God * * * immortality * * * the moral nature of man" ought to be given.

Historically stated, the problem is how to adjust the Puritan principle of universal, compulsory education for the good of social order, including its now well-established characteristic of being tax-supported, to the American frontier principle of the separation of Church and State. Many educators, also, aside from ecclesiastical considerations, appreciate this problem as shown in such expressions of ideals as "education for citizenship," "education for world peace," and so forth, and in the introduction of orientation and eugenics courses.

Since the above was written, two phases of the problem discussed have been strikingly illustrated by a recent development. During February, about two hundred college Presidents, professors, private school officials and church leaders met at Princeton for a three-day conference on the state of religion in our educational institutions. President Henry Sloane Coffin of Union Theological Seminary, in his address deplored the lack of "training in character" in the colleges, declaring that "nowhere is the student taught loyalty, conscientiousness, vision—those things, in short, which send men out prepared to live useful lives." To this President MacCracken of Vassar replied, in a communication to *The New York Times* on Feb. 23, as follows: "The ideal of the American college is still the ideal of the humanist of the fifteenth century, that the study of the sciences and arts in an atmosphere of entire honesty is the best training of character that can possibly be afforded. The humanists never made the mistake of thinking that character could be trained by a special course in the same. It is the *Litterae Humaniores* and the studies that have been added, like fine arts, natural and social sciences, and the life incident to that study (student self-government, Faculty and student cooperation, national and international relations of students) that make the character training in the modern American college. At its best, that character seems to me a pretty fine thing and not unworthy of the great tradition."

A Ku Klux Klan Reign of Terror

By R. A. PATTON

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AFTER a career of thirteen years, with its distinguishing characteristics, the mask and robe, and secrecy of membership, the modern Ku Klux Klan, founded by William J. Simmons in Atlanta in 1915, was ordered out into the light of day through the abandonment, announced as effective on Washington's Birthday, of its concealing habiliment. Opinion as to the result of this move on the part of the order that has styled itself the defender of the Constitution is divided. Some observers of this phenomenon of contemporary American life say it will die. Others say it will live, but more than likely sink to the harmless social and political level of the average secret society. In either case, it is fairly certain that the order to unmask was brought about by the culmination of years of atrocities, physical and political, in many States, in the investigation of a "reign of terror," as one Grand Jury called it, in Alabama.

When Mr. Simmons founded the Klan he had in mind the glamour and romance of the Klan of Reconstruction days. He visioned an order based on a comprehensive Americanism that would wipe out the Mason and Dixon line. In the new order he borrowed copiously from the old, both as to mythical and mystic nomenclature, and in the compilation of his ritual. But he was impractical in his business conduct of the new order's affairs. After the first fiery cross was burned on top of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Thanksgiving night of 1915, the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, as it is called in its charter, struggled for a meager existence for five years.

But the financial possibilities of the order were seen by two shrewd promoters, Edward Young Clark and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler of the Southern Publicity Association. They contracted with Simmons to take over the promotional phase of the work, for a substantial commission on each "klecktoken," or initiation fee, collected. Clark, as Imperial Kleagle, aided by Mrs. Tyler, organized a thorough selling scheme, with Kleagles, or local solicitors; King Kleagles, or State sales managers, and Grand Goblins, or district managers. By the end of 1920, a year after they took

the contract, the order had 100,000 members, and by the middle of 1923 the estimated enrolment in thirty-nine States was 1,500,000.

In "selling" the Klan to the people Clark made use of a perverted Americanism, best described as a triumvirate of "hates." Hate for the Catholic was engendered because he was supposed to owe allegiance only to the Pope of Rome and to be working to deliver America to the Catholic hierarchy. Hate for the Jew was preached, for he was supposed to own America financially. Hate for the alien and negro was made a tenet, for they were supposed to menace white supremacy in America. Along with these talking points went the declaration that the Constitution would be defended, and where courts of law failed in this respect the Klan would take matters into its own hands and uphold that document's sanctity.

Thus it will be seen that the selling points of the new Klan were virtually the same which made the Know-Nothing Party of the late '50s such a power and menace for a time, with merely the Jewish shibboleth added for good measure. This program succeeded, and by 1923 the order had reached an amazing size. But during this time in the Southern States, where the Klan was organized, an unprecedented wave of killings (Texas alone reported twenty-one), mutilations, floggings, kidnappings, tar-and-feather parties, threats and parades took place, all at night, by masked men.

In the Northern States physical violence was less prevalent, but elections were bought and sold, competent men opposed to the Klan and its principles were forced from office and incompetents took their places, municipal, county and State Governments were honeycombed with rotteness and intrigue. Whole States were under Klan domination, as witness Oregon, with its attempt to eliminate private and parochial schools; Texas, Colorado, Indiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, Louisiana, to a lesser extent Illinois, and later Alabama. A Congressional investigation was ordered in 1921, but through the cleverness of Simmons in keeping before the investigators his early and idealistic conception of the Klan, he was able to divorce that from the

sinister and baleful organization the Congressmen were called to examine, and no tangible results were produced.

CRIMES CHARGED TO KLAN

Court records and current accounts in the States mentioned show the lengths to which the Klan went. Where courts did not act, for any reason from lax officialdom to lack of evidence, the Klan violated the Constitution it declared it venerated, and meted out such punishment as it saw fit, at night, protected by the anonymity of the mask it espoused. Outrages of all sorts were reported in all the States mentioned.

Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana went to Washington in 1922 seeking help to handle "horrifying crimes" charged to the Klan. Governor Olcott of Oregon declared the Klan "an active menace," and asserted that "no greater menace confronts the United States today." Governor Allen of Kansas, outraged by the atrocities perpetrated in other States in the name of law and order, invoked the power of the Supreme Court of the State in an effort to oust the Klan officials from his domain.

In the North and Northwest political intrigue of the rottenest sort was resorted to, following the lead of David Curtis Stephenson, former Grand Dragon of the Realm of Indiana, who made of that State a horrible example of political corruption. "I did not sell the Klan on hatreds," he said. "That is not the way. I sold the Klan as a political instrument of reform."

That idea, with all its attendant evils of possible corruption, broken friendships, the loss of millions to the Commonwealth, and the obscurement of vital political issues, inaugurated the second phase of the Klan's activities. This culminated in the bitter fight of the 1924 National Democratic Convention at Madison Square Garden in New York, that nearly disrupted the party. It is said that this fight marked the high tide of Klan power, and that from its victory, which was in fact a defeat, it has gradually been sinking, with the recently announced unmasking one of a logical sequence of events. Certain it is that the Klan suffered irreparable damage in this fight by being forced into the open and by making the matter of religious tolerance a political issue. Although it avoided being mentioned by name by the narrow margin of four votes, it could not avoid having read into the record a bitter and sweeping denunciation of its principles and practices.

By 1924 the Klan had elected its candi-

dates for Governor in Indiana, Maine and Colorado (where it has ousted Judge Ben Lindsey in a fight started long before his companionate marriage promulgation), had beaten Walton in Oklahoma and had helped to beat Brookhart in Iowa, but had lost its fight against "Ma" Ferguson in Texas.

In every State claims of double dealing, of subverting public interest to the advancement of Klansmen, of the ruthless crushing of all opposition to its questionable practices, of outrage and lawlessness, were made and never successfully denied. Where the favorite "hates"—Jews, Catholics and aliens—failed to win desired members, three other "hates" were substituted—the World Court, metropolitan morality and liquor and the cancellation of European war debts.

But with this political activity and its attendant rottenness, such as has recently been displayed in Indiana by former Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson, now serving a life term for the revolting murder of a girl, has gone, in other States, continued atrocities that have finally culminated in the Alabama investigation and the order for unmasking. The murders at Mer Rouge, La.; the Herrin, Ill., war, and the Niles, Ohio, riot are fair examples of this widespread lawlessness.

Meanwhile, former Imperial Wizard Simmons in 1922 sold out his interests to Hiram Wesley Evans for a consideration of \$146,500; the Klan has been torn by internal strife actuated by the selfish motives of those who have won their way to its remunerative posts; rumors of constant turmoil and friction reach the outsider. Still, the organizers, trading on the illogical hates of the great mass of American wage-earners, continue to recruit members, with their \$10 "klektokens."

REIGN OF TERROR IN ALABAMA

But now that the mask has been torn from the order by the command of Imperial Wizard Evans, there is much speculation as to its future. It is conceded, even by its friends, that it received a severe blow—even worse than that given it at the 1924 Democratic Convention—by the exposure of its inquisitorial measures in Alabama. There the iniquity of the mask has been displayed without regard for the sensibilities. Executive and official duplicity and inaction in the face of the pleas of a terrorized section of the population were revealed, and the mask of self-righteousness was ripped from the intolerance and bigotry with which the Klan has always been accused of being afflicted. Denials have been



Harris & Ewing.

HIRAM WESLEY EVANS

Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan

made that the unmasking was connected with the exposures in Alabama, but it is hard to overlook the fact that the announcement was made in Montgomery immediately after their publication.

Brutalities practiced by robed and masked gangs wearing the insignia of the Ku Klux Klan began to be whispered several years ago. In the elections of 1927 Governor Bibb Graves, World War veteran and the Klan's candidate, was swept into office with several other Klan-supported candidates. Almost immediately the number of atrocities in all parts of the State increased, and the Klan was openly charged with being responsible. Finally Attorney General Charlie C. McCall, once known as "Spider Kelley" of the A. E. F. boxing ring, himself a Klansman, personally undertook the task of hunting out and punishing the offenders. In spite of innumerable obstacles thrown in his way, in spite of the passive attitude of Governor Graves, who has never denied the charge that he is a member of the Klan, and in spite of reverses in court, where incon-

trovertible evidence of guilt has been presented against Klan floggers, McCall stopped floggings in Alabama, and the order to unmask the hooded order in the entire country followed.

Floggings in which victims, not only negroes but white men and women, have been lashed into unconsciousness and sometimes left to die of their injuries, have been uncovered in sixteen counties. The Grand Jury of Crenshaw County, which likened the "rule of the mask and lash" to "the terror of the Inquisition," subpoenaed Governor Graves, George Thigpen, State Superintendent of Insurance; Captain Ira B. Thompson, member of the State Boxing Commission, and Cecil Davis, recently appointed by Governor Graves as Tax Commissioner, to give testimony. James Esdale, Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama, under indictment in Hamilton County, Tennessee, on a charge of perjury, and a friend of Governor Graves, was also summoned. Twenty floggings were probed, one of which resulted in the death of the victim. One hundred and two indictments were returned against thirty-four men. The Klan was declared guilty of all but one of the assaults. In its report the jury said that the men called and quizzed and the men indicted were

derelict in their duties as citizens in their conduct of Klan affairs. * * * This barbaric terrorism of the mask and lash can be attributed directly to the evil leadership in the Ku Klux Klan, at war with all constituted authorities. * * * We have found what we believe to be an organization which has either gotten out of control of those who should control it or else has gotten into control, at least in part, of men who, in our judgment, are unworthy of trust.

This was in just one of the sixteen counties where similar conditions existed. A list of the atrocities, or even a partial list as revealed in various courts, would take more space than this review would allow. A lad whipped with branches until his back was ribboned flesh; a negress beaten and left helpless, to contract pneumonia from exposure and die; a white girl, divorcee, beaten into unconsciousness in her own home; a naturalized foreigner flogged until his back was a pulp because he married an American woman; a negro lashed until he sold his land to a white man for a fraction of its value—these are only a few of the cases.

McCall obtained several convictions previous to September, 1927, in spite of active Klan opposition, and in October the Crenshaw County jury reported on its "reign

of terror." Then the Attorney General startled the Klan world by resigning from the Klan with a letter that was a bitter denunciation and revelation of the spirit he said he had found harbored within the precincts of the Klan. He declared that the crimes he had investigated had been plotted by Klan leaders, and he refused to be "at the call or fraternal command of leaders of an organization which banishes its members for telling the truth in courts of justice."

Manifestation of the extralegal attitude of the Klan was expressed about this time by its active persecution of witnesses called in atrocity cases; in a threat to Solicitor James Davis of Birmingham of "trouble unless you lay off these flogging cases," and of the refusal of Cecil Davis to testify to the Crenshaw County Grand Jury because of a "prior oath." McCall appealed to Governor Graves for aid for his hounded witnesses, and advised each one—some of them were in a pitiful plight—to protect their homes "with as much and such force as he deems necessary." Governor Graves ordered Walter K. McAdory of the State Law Enforcement Department to make a thorough investigation and report to him. This report, it was later shown, was denied Mr. McCall, but did come into the possession of the Klan verbatim.

Late in October the Crenshaw County cases were brought to trial. Two men were put on trial, but in spite of conclusive evidence and one confession, their juries acquitted them in record time, amid the vociferous approval of the crowds that filled the courtroom. McCall withdrew from the prosecution, fearing his presence might have affected the juries. But then his associates withdrew and filed the cases against the remaining thirty-two men "until such time as there is a different sentiment in this county." They declared that convictions, under the circumstances, were impossible to obtain. McCall's withdrawal was predicated upon a lack of cooperation by the State Law Enforcement Bureau and the declaration that its officers had "exhibited a frenzied desire to assist the defense instead of the prosecuting officials." At the same time he declared that the private report of the head of the department, supposed to have been made personally to Governor Graves, and refused to him (McCall), had been found in the safe of Ira Thompson, Cyclops of the Luverne Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan.

In this same safe, it is alleged, was found the key to the whole situation. In October

he found arrayed against him not only the Klan but members of a State department. The key, a letter from James Esdale, Grand Dragon, to Ira Thompson, Cyclops, written Sept. 14, follows:

Office of *GRAND DRAGON, REALM OF ALABAMA*, 505-7 First National Bank Building.

Birmingham, Sept. 14, 1927.
Captain Ira B. Thompson, E. C., P. O. Box 150, Luverne, Ala.

Faithful and Esteemed Klansman: This acknowledges receipt of your favor of the 12th instant, and I have read same with a great deal of interest. I want to say that you hit the keynote, and I have been trying all this week to get an engagement with Gov. Graves in order that I could personally present this situation to him, and at the same time lay the ground work for just what you outlined. The legislature is now gone, and I think it is high time that something be done to bring the Attorney General to his senses, and let him know that the people of Alabama elected him to run the Attorney General's office and not spend all his time around here working up police court cases against the Ku Klux Klan. I am going to see the Governor one day this week, and I will immediately get in touch with you and advise you what he contemplates doing or what he wants us to do to help him out of the situation.

I have the utmost confidence in Col. Graves, and feel sure he will lend us his full cooperation in the future as he has so nobly done in the past, and that when the real light of this situation is brought to his attention he will immediately do something to straighten it out. Personally, I feel that Col. Graves' attitude toward the Attorney General is about the same as ourselves, but he has had so much on his shoulders during the past few weeks, that he hasn't had an opportunity to do just what he would like to in the matter.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,
Faithfully yours,

In the Sacred, Unfailing Bond,
(Signed) J. ESDALE,
GRAND DRAGON, REALM OF ALABAMA.

ATTITUDE OF GOVERNOR GRAVES

All that Governor Graves will say is that the letter is "a personal matter between those two men, and does not concern me." He said that he had not seen or talked to Esdale, but the incontrovertible consequences that followed the sending and receipt of the letter, at least, leave the Governor in an unenviable light.

Shortly after this John H. Bankhead, son of the late Senator John H. Bankhead, in an open letter called upon Governor Graves to dissolve the Klan. He declared that after the 1927 election "a reign of hooded outlawry has prevailed in many sections of the State. They [the Ku Klux Klan] selected a United States Senator [Black], the Governor, the Attorney General, solicitors in many circuits and Sheriffs in many coun-

ties, and since that time our other United States Senator [J. Tom Heflin] has apparently enlisted as a national Klan lecturer." He then cited the refusal of Davis to testify. "Is Governor Graves going to condone and approve that form of super-government and law nullification by his capitol appointees?" he concluded. "If so, then he may understand that many further removed from him will assume that the Governor of this State is in sympathy with the defiance of our courts. We are indeed drifting upon troubled waters."

Governor Graves merely said: "I have received no communication from Mr. Bankhead, and therefore have no comment to make." This in spite of the fact that the letter was carried in every paper of consequence in the State and in many outside its boundaries.

Then former Congressman L. B. Rainey mailed a letter to the Governor challenging him to "openly declare for law enforcement, abolition of mob violence." "Neither abuse, persuasion or petition move you, so it appears," Mr. Rainey wrote. "Perhaps you have not realized that the whole rear end of your political ship is 'busted.'" Governor Graves has never replied to the letter. He was confined to his home with a mild attack of flu when it was delivered at the Capitol, and said he wanted to read it before making any comment. The flu excuse persisted until the public was absorbed in the trial of the Crenshaw cases, and the matter was dropped.

Finally the national press reports became so noticeable that in November of 1927 Congressman Madden of Illinois, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, took up the matter with Acting Attorney General John Marshall, in the absence of Attorney General Sargent; with Oscar R. Luhring, Assistant Attorney General, and Oliver Pagan, indictment expert of the department. "I went to the department to see if there is not some recourse to a higher power in behalf of these poor negroes and other victims of intolerance, bigotry, race hatred and orgiastic brutality," he said. His ground for seeking Federal intervention was the case of Arthur Hitt, who was reported to have been terrorized into selling his land for a portion of its value to W. J. Worthington, a Birmingham lawyer.

The passive attitude of the Governor

where actual intervention and the use of his authority was concerned was emphasized by his active opposition in other ways. He threw his support behind a bill presented in a recent session of the State Legislature designed to muzzle the press in its comment upon State officials, and he openly opposed another which would have outlawed the mask in the State and would have made whippings by masked men a felony. Both failed to pass.

Just before the Crenshaw County lash case fiasco and after Mr. McCall had resigned from the Klan, Governor Graves called the Attorney General into conference over the expense incurred by the State incident to the trials. Mr. McCall said he set the expense, if all the 102 cases were tried, at approximately \$10,000. At this the Governor demurred, and would agree to approve only an expenditure of \$1,500, which Mr. McCall pointed out would be at the rate of only \$15 a case if they were all litigated.

Mr. Graves also insisted that Mr. McCall make use of only solicitors or county attorneys, in many instances holding their offices by virtue of Klan support, in his prosecution of Klan floggers, an obviously crippling limitation. Thus impeded, Mr. McCall has been able to do but little in the way of actually punishing Klansmen indicted for floggings and other violations of constitutional rights. But nevertheless floggings in Alabama have ceased, due to the national attention focused upon the State and its Klan, and the mask has been declared by the Imperial Wizard of the order as officially banned.

There are many observers who point to the rise and fall of the Know-Nothing Party in the days before the war between the States as indicative of the course the Klan, its prototype, will take. They contend that with the removal of the mask the Klan's strongest appeal and most potent weapon, its internal dissension, which has been continually at work boring from within, will bring about its downfall. While there is nothing in the Klan's ritual or Constitution that would subject it to criticism, the thing it has become has damned it before the country. It is doubtful if the Ku Klux Klan, regardless of the care with which it may walk before the law in the future, will ever live down the mark of the lash as revealed in Alabama.



The American Negro's New Leaders

By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

NEGRO SOCIOLOGIST

ONE of the most important phases of the social development of the American negro is the change in the character of his leadership. The leaders who are now occupying the stage stand out in marked contrast to those of the past. Two rather distinct periods of leadership may be noted in the past. During the first period, immediately following slavery, the preacher and politician dominated the black masses. The pre-eminence of the first was due to the fact that the negro church was the first Afro-American institution that had grown up under the slave régime. The politician appeared when political power was put into the hands of the emancipated slaves. The philosophy of these leaders, born of an optimism that was the first fruit of emancipation and the enthusiasm of Northern supporters, was that negroes were free and equal citizens and should participate in all the activities open to American citizens. Frederick Douglass was the chief exponent of this period. The second period was inaugurated by the appearance of Booker T. Washington, whose program of opportunism is well known, and whose period of leadership was marked by the emergence of an educated and critical minority. The death of Washington may be taken as the end of the second period, and it was the World War and subsequent events that brought the "new leadership" into prominence.

The appearance of the new leadership is traceable to certain social and economic causes. The first of these is the spread of education among a large element of the population, which is partly reflected in the phenomenal drop in illiteracy from 44.5 per cent. at the opening of the century to 22.9 per cent. in 1920; and, more especially, the increase in the number of negroes receiving college education. According to *The Crisis*, "incomplete returns from white colleges and universities reveal 1,203 in attendance for the year 1925-26." Negro schools, during the same year, had over 7,000 students enrolled in college work and over 1,300 degrees were granted to negroes, Harvard alone having forty negro graduates. This phenomenal increase in the number of negro college students has taken place during the past five years. It is the negroes attend-

ing the Northern colleges and universities who are probably the more responsible for the radical break with the past, as the negro colleges are still dominated by conservative ideals.

The urbanization of the negro population has exerted the second and most important influence on the new leadership as it has affected the constituency and milieu in which the leaders are functioning. The World War, by creating a vacuum in the labor market of the North, was the prime cause of a widespread migration movement to Northern cities. In 1900 the negro population was 77.3 per cent. rural; in 1910, 72.6 per cent; in 1920, 66 per cent. This gradual urbanization has naturally affected the negro's whole social philosophy, especially since the negro has become an important factor in industry and unionism. Moreover, the spread of knowledge and the increase in social differential has caused a decline in the influence of the negro ministry in the cities.

The World War has been constantly pointed to as the chief influence in producing the new type of negro. If its effects are regarded in their broadest aspects, and not simply restricted to the negro's experience in the army in this country and in France, this is probably true. There has been much exaggeration of the direct effect of army life on negroes. In the case of the intelligent negroes who served, in many cases, as officers, the war experience did mean the breaking down of old ideals and values and a social experience that was more valuable than the formal education they had acquired. As the ideals of the war which were trumpeted by its leaders were accepted at their face value, the reaction after the war produced a disillusionment which has never been forgotten. Another effect of the war has been an unprecedented increase in the national wealth, which has made possible the support of newspapers and magazines which disseminate new ideas among the masses. The potential influence of the negro newspaper is indicated by the fact that the aggregate circulation of three leading negro weeklies, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Baltimore Afro-American*, is about a half million. All these factors have con-

tributed to the building up of a large critical constituency, whose leaders represent diverse interests.

TYPES OF NEW LEADERS

What are the characteristics which distinguish the leadership of the present from that of the two previous periods? In other words, what are the essential qualities of the so-called "New Negro"? The first fact that distinguishes the new leaders is that they are truly educated men with scientifically trained minds. Most of the leaders of the other two periods were men who had acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek and the facts of history, enough of an acquaintance with literature to be able to quote selections and a certain mastery of correct usage. Their minds were, however, fettered by the same religious, moral and political superstitions as those of the masses.

Among the new leaders we find true intellectuals, and they owe their preeminence chiefly to their mental superiority. The older leaders had more education, to be sure, than their followers, but they distinguished themselves as leaders chiefly through their ability to organize men for different objectives, not through intellectual achievements. When they indulged in purely intellectual activities it was chiefly the writing of polemics to prove the injustices of discrimination or the equality of races. The new leaders are not only soundly educated—many having completed the best schools of America and studied in Europe—but are critical and skeptical. Therefore it is not surprising that we find great diversity among them. Another prominent characteristic of the new leaders is that while they believe that negroes should participate in political activities, they do not make a fetish of politics as the older leaders did, but view politics in its true relation to other social forces. The new leaders are creative. There is no longer a servile imitation of white models, but a truer valuation of self and an attempt to express what the world means to them. Finally we see a tendency on their part to see things from an international viewpoint, thereby escaping the extreme provincialism of the earlier leaders.

The group which was in some respects the forerunner of the new leadership is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which Dr. Du Bois is the moving spirit. He early revolted against the Booker Washington program, and first inaugurated an objective and sci-

entific study of the negro's development as well as giving artistic expression to the negro soul. Through *The Crisis* Dr. Du Bois maintains the spirit of the N. A. A. C. P., which advocates absolute equality for the negro and enforcement of this equality through the courts and an aroused public opinion. Prominent among the men in the N. A. A. C. P. are James Weldon Johnson, who has achieved distinction as a poet and musical critic, and Walter White, a successful novelist.

A second group of men who stand out prominently in the new leadership are those who are engaged in the work of the National Urban League, under Eugene Kinckle Jones. This group typifies, in a way, the fundamental change in the attitude of the negro towards his problems. They are dealing realistically with these problems by endeavoring to make scientific and rational social adjustments, insisting that the negro needs "not alms but opportunity." Most of their work has been devoted to adjusting the constant stream of rural negroes to their urban environment, and to endeavoring to overcome prejudices against the employment of the negro in industry. The research department of the league, under the direction of Charles S. Johnson, editor of *Opportunity*, has accumulated through its field workers a wealth of information concerning social conditions among negroes. Also, through its fellowship in the leading universities of the country the league is training men and women to develop and carry on its program.

THE NEW RADICALS

The next group of new leaders might be called the new Radicals. They are differentiated from the old Radicals by the fact that the latter, in demanding absolute equality for the negro, never contemplated any change in government or separation of the negro from America, while the former have joined the revolutionary forces in America and encourage nationalistic aspirations for the negro. The new Radicals may be classified in two groups: namely, the *Messenger* group and those associated with the Garvey movement. The new radicalism was initiated by two young men, Chandler Owen and Philip Randolph, the latter being now engaged in organizing the Pullman porters. In their magazine, *The Messenger*, they began the movement by a scientific analysis of the negro problem from an economic viewpoint, which concluded that only force, economic or otherwise, can secure recognition for the negro. They attacked the old

leaders for their ignorance of economics, sociology and world politics and their dependence upon capitalists for support. They condemned the Church as the enemy of the negro masses; and declared themselves in revolt against the Republican Party, advocating that the negro should line up with the labor forces, especially radical labor; ally himself with the Socialist Party or the I. W. W., since he is essentially a proletarian. Against lynching, *The Messenger* advocated the use of physical force and of economic force—the strike. During and after the war *The Messenger* urged negroes to resist the draft and insist upon the righting of their wrongs, while their services were needed most. The influence of these leaders among negroes was strong; for example, according to *The Messenger* of January, 1918, one-fourth of the negro voters supported the Socialist ticket in an election. However, *The Messenger* is now no longer the spokesman of economic radicalism but has become an organ chiefly devoted to advertising negro enterprises and boosting black capitalists. Such is the irony of fate!

The second group of new radicals is centered in the Garvey movement, which has two unique features: It is the first mass movement among American negroes and is essentially nationalistic. Garvey achieved an organization with the symbols, beliefs and mythical social distinctions which are essential in any mass movement. We find the glorification of the color, black, extending even to the celestial realm. His followers were incited to hatred against the accepted intelligent leaders, and were taught that the negro could never occupy other than a subordinate place in American life and that the achievement of full manhood and respect of other races lay in the establishment of an autonomous State outside of the borders of the United States. In order to accomplish this end Garvey's organization, known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association, established branches in all parts of the world where large groups of negroes are found. As a preparation for the independent State, provisional government officials were selected and a fleet of trading ships to establish commercial relations with Africa was projected (upon paper at least). The building of nationalistic sentiment was carried on through the organization's weekly publication, *The Negro World*.

There is an increasing number of negro leaders who stand out because of individual attainment without any reference to their group. They have, in fact, been criticized

by the orthodox leaders, because of their scientific detachment and absorption in arts. Although Dr. Carver, at Tuskegee, would appear the first in order of distinction in science, Dr. Ernest Just of Howard University probably represents the younger scientists more truly. In the class with Dr. Just, who has achieved distinction in cytology, we include Dr. Julian Lewis of the University of Chicago and Dr. Theodore Lawless of Northwestern University, who have done notable work in pathology. In the field of historical scholarship, Dr. Woodson, who has done scientific work in negro history, is the most distinguished, and his associate, Mr. A. A. Taylor, has made some of the most scientific studies of "Reconstruction" that have yet appeared.

ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS

In the realm of art William Stanley Braithwaite, whose annual anthology of poetry and other works are known to the public, has achieved complete emancipation from the color complex. *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*, through their literary contests, have stimulated young literary artists whose creations have been accepted by the leading periodicals. For two successive years the Witter Bynner Poetry Prize has been won respectively by Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes. Cullen has published a book of poems, *Color*, and Hughes a collection known as *The Weary Blues*. Jeap Toomer, in his book *Cane*, has presented a series of etchings of negro life with a detachment and abandon surpassing any other negro artist. The first issue of *Fire*, a quarterly devoted to the younger negro artists, has just appeared. Walter White has published *Fire in the Flint* and *Flight*, while Jessie Fauset has attempted in her novel, *There Is Confusion*, the first portrayal of the life and mental processes of the cultivated negro in the more subtle racial conflicts. Eric Walrond has recently published a book, *Tropic Death*, in which, without any trace of racial consciousness, he has given a series of pictures of the negro in his tropic environment.

In the field of artistic achievement the negro has met a response from white artists which was expressed by John Macy, at the *Opportunity* Contest dinner, in the following words:

We rejoice because good work has been done, not that good work has been done by negroes. It is the beauty of the poem that counts, not the fact that it was written by a negro. I don't want to hear about Roland Hayes, the negro tenor. The man whose singing charms and thrills us is Roland Hayes, the tenor. We must all be

individual or we are nothing, but even the youngest poet among you with the egotism and ambition of authorship will learn to value the thing created rather than the person who creates.

We who try to express ourselves belong to a great freemasonry which knows nothing of color, race or creed, except the cult of beauty and wisdom. It is composed of men and women all over the world, whose language we cannot perhaps understand, but whose spirit is akin to ours. It is the most democratic and most aristocratic society in the world.

The achievements of Roland Hayes, the art of Aaron Douglass, with its African motif, the breaking down of the theatre tradition by Gilpin in O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* and Paul Robeson's present achievements on the stage are landmarks in the negro's rise in the field of art.

Negro business shows the same change in the type of its leaders as we have seen in other activities. The crudity of methods and incapacity of the business men of past generations have been the cause for much ridicule, but at the present time, colored business men, especially in the larger enterprises, are young and have had a sound general education as well as training in modern business methods. The growth of insurance companies among negroes is an indication of the business capacity of the new negro business man. The following table, from *The Crisis* of September, 1926, gives some idea of the size of ten negro insurance companies:

Name of Company.	Admitted Assets Dec. 31, 1925.	Total Income, 1925.	Total Insurance in Force.
Afro-Amer.	\$449,178	\$947,082	\$7,448,324
Atlanta Life...	747,676	1,543,645	19,025,031
Liberty Life...	495,262	514,602	8,169,692
Nat'l Benefit...	1,107,524	2,235,529	43,320,227
N. C. Mutual...	2,750,471	2,157,931	44,326,283
N.east. Life....	113,707	126,837	211,500
Sou. Aid Soc...	871,345	942,453	7,897,483
Supreme Life and Casualty.	241,175	131,732	4,495,898
Universal Life.	130,608	104,199	4,136,049
Victory Life...	170,812	66,188	2,244,495
Total	\$7,077,758	\$8,769,198	\$141,274,982

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

There is an important differentiation between Northern and Southern leadership because of the complete separation of the races and the policy of complete subordination of the blacks in the South. One aspect of this policy is the elimination of the negro from any participation in politics either through the white Democratic primary or by fraud and violence. In the North, however, the negro is using his political power to secure the benefits offered by the Government, and his intelligent leaders are

finding places in Legislatures and courts, with the support of white as well as black constituents. There is, moreover, a distinct tendency to shift negro support to the Democratic Party when the Republicans fail to live up to their traditional favorable attitude. The support that the negroes are giving the Democrats in New York City, Chicago and Indiana, for example, marks a change from the day when Frederick Douglass declared that the Republican Party was the ship and all else the sea. In the South those who cling to the ghost of the Republican Party are generally professional politicians who have little understanding of modern social conditions.

Even in the sphere of economic activity the South no longer holds for the black man the only opportunity for advancement as it did when Booker T. Washington remarked that the negro could spend a dollar in the North but he could not earn one, while in the South he could earn one although he could not spend it. Negroes have not only found a place in the industries of the North but they have organized insurance companies that promise to equal those of the South, and banks that already surpass Southern institutions. Real estate companies and individuals have property holdings which excel in value anything dreamed by their Southern brothers. Negro professional men, because of contact with the whites and access to educational institutions, are superior on the whole to those of the South. On the other hand, the development of the "Interracial Movement" in the South, whose more liberal white leaders are increasingly disposed to call into counsel truly educated and honest colored leaders, is helping the "New Negro" to become articulate in the South.

The development of present negro leadership which we have briefly analyzed represents to some extent the social transformation of the negro in general, but in the main it presents a picture of the social differentiation of the growing civilized minority. This social differentiation is due in a large measure to urbanization, which is requiring a new type of leader. The most significant aspect of this development is the emergence of an intellectual leadership which is not dependent for status upon the colored group but stands upon the intrinsic worth of its achievements. The new leaders who are participating in all the activities of American life have destroyed the prospect of any social policy that looks toward confining the whole colored group within a lower caste.

India's Reasons for Demanding Independence

By D. N. BANNERJEA

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

GENERALLY speaking, a narration of events and incidents in their due chronological sequence has obvious advantages. But there are occasions when it is perhaps convenient and certainly profitable to group together revelant happenings of conspicuous importance around a central incident even though it may be of a comparatively recent origin. Such a central incident is the sending out of the Indian Statutory Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon to India and its complete boycott by all the organized and powerful political groups, most energetic among which have been moderate statesmen like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a former colleague of Lord Reading's; Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad, Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University and a former Minister under the reforms scheme, in the Bombay Presidency, and Sir Abdur Rahim, formerly High Court Judge in Calcutta.

The arrival of the members of the Royal Commission on Indian Constitutional Reforms synchronized with the complete suspension of business and the closing of all shops in Bombay. This was on Feb. 3. Members of the local boycott committees paraded the streets, carrying black flags as a token of national mourning, while at important points the Nationalist leaders delivered impassioned orations, after which important resolutions were carried to the effect that the non-inclusion of Indian colleagues was a studied insult to India, that the Commission had doubtful credentials and that no useful purpose would be served by cooperating with it in any form or at any stage. It would be quite inaccurate to say that only the hysterical student elements and excitable crowds took part in the processions, which included professional and commercial men and every grade of respectable and law-abiding citizens. As a matter of fact, the Bombay Stock Exchange was closed in response to the decision of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to have nothing to do with a body whose composition implied the wounding of India's national *amour propre*. The Indian Chambers of Commerce had pre-

viously passed a resolution endorsing the boycott of the Simon Commission on the ground that a purely English commission was incompetent to deal with the intricate and manifold problems, both administrative and political, of India, and that having no mandate from the country, it had no jurisdiction to conduct an investigation into the working of the legislative machinery. All the Indian-owned newspapers stopped publication on the day of the *Hartal* (i. e., a general strike on a nationwide scale).

While this was happening in Bombay, with the hearty approval of Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the passive resistance movement of former days, and with his unstinted admiration for the complete success of the *Hartal*, Calcutta was witnessing more dramatic triumphs under the efficient leadership of Mr. S. C. Bose, a distinguished graduate in honors of Cambridge University, a former member of the Indian Civil Service and Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation.

This public-spirited young man, who previously spent the greater part of his handsome salary for the education of a number of impecunious youths in Bengal, was in 1924, interned without charge or trial, together with 400 others, in a prisoner's camp in Mandalay, under the Bengal Ordinance which was sanctioned by Lord Olivier when Labor Secretary of State for India. This ordinance dispensed with the right to a public trial, confidential police reports taking the place of the writ of habeas corpus. As the result of powerful resolutions being carried against the Government for the last four years, only sixty of the police suspects remain interned at the time of writing. Bose was released about six months ago, after developing tuberculosis and being detained in Mandalay for nearly four years. Deportations and internments for indefinite periods, without public trial or even aid of counsel, have been a favorite method of the Government of India in pre-reform days, but the fact that these methods have survived the reforms bears testimony to the unsubstan-

tial nature of popular control conceded by the reforms.

Lord Birkenhead, advised no doubt by the English members of his Council in London—there are only three Indians on a council of eight—has proceeded on the assumption that India is not a nation, but a congeries of communal and special interests, and therefore the inclusion of Indians would mean the representation of all the diverse interests, making the Commission too unwieldy for practical work. This gratuitous assumption disregards all the unifying influences of Western culture, of the British Administration itself and of the Nationalist movement organized since 1885. It seeks to sweep aside, with an impatient gesture, the indisputable fact that in the public life of India there are a legion of far-sighted statesmen who think in terms of the national well-being and not in terms of their community, and who have sought to reconcile, in spite of the persistent opposition from Government, apparently conflicting interests.

Lord Birkenhead's presuppositions not only do violence to the most challenging of facts, but they lead him to the conclusion that seven Englishmen, with more or less complete ignorance of India and its problems, are more competent to submit a report to Parliament than the public leaders of India, many of whom are devoting their whole energies to religious, social and political reform, who understand the psychology of the people and who are in daily contact with urgent problems. The most humorous part of the assumption is that complete ignorance of India is a guarantee of complete impartiality.

WHY REFORMS WERE REJECTED

Turning now to the Indian political situation and the deep-rooted causes of Indian discontent, the main reason for rejecting the "Montford" [Montagu-Chelmsford] reforms was that the instrument of advance toward responsible Government is to be the Indian Civil Service, predominantly British-manned, irremovable, in the possession of plenary powers and with its emoluments, privileges and prestige guarded by parliamentary statutes. Not only are a large number of this highly privileged bureaucracy opposed to Indian self-government, but they have preponderant influence through their protagonists in the British press. And almost every decade they demand and obtain further concessions by way of enhanced salaries, allowances and traveling subsidies out of the Indian Ex-

chequer. As a matter of fact, Lord Birkenhead's accession to office was signalized by his endorsing and implementing in 1925 certain recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, appointed in 1922, under the Chairmanship of Lord Lee of Fareham. The Commission recommended substantial increases in the salaries, pension and traveling allowances of the members of the Indian Civil Service and of the superior cadres of fourteen other services. These recommendations, in so far as they related to the Indian Civil Service, were subsequently ratified by the British Parliament, even though they were thrown out by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the ground that only seven years ago increments for these services were sanctioned in accordance with the recommendations of a previous Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Islington.

It might be helpful to point out that India has been paying more than \$100,000,000 a year for the salaries and other perquisites of English officials in India, and the recent additions to the already onerous burdens on the shoulders of a poor country like India can be roughly estimated at a little less than \$10,000,000. The serious nature of the constant drain on the country's resources may be gauged by the fact that India has to pay annually more than \$300,000,000 for the upkeep and equipment of a standing army, officered almost completely by Englishmen and in which until quite recently not a single Indian was allowed to hold a commission.

The burden of the Nationalist and Swarajist indictment of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms has been that in the absence of a provision which recognizes the spontaneous development of political maturity, India's future lies at the tender mercies of the Indian Civil Service, some at least of whom, during the troubled times in the Punjab, abdicated civilian control, while the King's writ was still running, and invited General Dyer to take command. Many of them approved of the supreme tragedy at Amritsar, where Indian men, women and children were mowed down like grass, without warning and without compassion. It was only the political dexterity of Mr. Montagu which defeated the intrigues of "the men on the spot" against the reform measure, as its opponents relied on exploiting to the full the theory of an open and organized rebellion against the Government throughout India. This was regarded as a poor recompense

for the million men and the \$500,000,000 which India voluntarily gave to the British Empire during the World War.

The British Parliament, no doubt, takes longer views and is more sympathetic. But the average member of Parliament is profoundly ignorant of India, which is remote from his concerns. He is, moreover, pre-occupied with pressing problems nearer at home: unemployment absorbs his attention at one moment, agricultural depression at another. We need not be greatly surprised if he should feel inclined to accept as gospel truth what appears in the English newspapers as Indian "news" communicated by the Delhi and Simla correspondents, who are generally editors or sub-editors of English papers in India, reflecting, in varying degrees, official opinions.

India thus discovers itself between the upper millstone of the India Office, immemorial champion of British banking and industrial interests, and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, whose natural cry is: "What will our sons do should we ever lose India?" The manipulation of Indian finance to the detriment of India, the sale of reverse council bills in London [a complex operation of British-Indian finance] by the Secretary of State which has occasionally converted assets into liabilities running into millions of pounds, the depositing of India's cash balances and surpluses in London for the assistance of British commerce—all these are age-long grievances which only self-government can redress. Their full discussion is not possible within the brief compass of this short article.

It must not be understood that the boycott applies only against the Commission. It will continue until either by parliamentary pronouncement or by means of a round table conference between the plenipotentiaries of England and India, the future Constitution of India is determined upon and accepted. Nor should it be forgotten that the boycott is not negative; on the positive side an integral part of the boycott scheme is the drafting of a Swaraj (i. e., self-government) Constitution after full consultations between all the political parties. Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú proposes the appointment of an Indian commission to tour the country and conduct an investigation into the working of the Constitution.

The Government of India has done next to nothing for the development of our industries in spite of the recommendations of several industrial commissions. The successful steel industry set up by Messrs. Tata, Ltd., does not exhaust the sum of

possibilities in a country of inexhaustible mineral resources. The rolling stock of our railways is bodily imported from England, our sea-going vessels are constructed there, while motor cars and every variety of machinery are imported into the Indian market. An alien Government, committed to the policy of religious neutrality, cannot deal with urgent reform issues whose settlement is over due. The problem of our mass illiteracy after one hundred years of British rule appalls the imagination, while the countryside is being crippled with malaria and hookworm. Two-thirds of our working populations constantly suffer from the effects of insufficient nutrition.

The Government has money in abundance for putting up statues of Governors and Viceroy, for expanding military budgets, for new squadrons of airplanes, for punitive expeditions against the Northwestern frontier tribes, but for education and sanitary improvement it always pleads lack of funds. And its apologists ease their consciences by claiming the apathy of Indians toward education and hygiene as an insurmountable barrier!

NEGOTIATIONS DEMANDED

Ever since Lord Birkenhead took the important and extraordinary decision in 1924 to summon Lord Reading, then Viceroy to India, to private conferences in Whitehall the demand has been gaining ground that the future of India should be decided upon after consultations between British and Indian statesmen. So far the appeal has fallen on deaf ears. But the time is now opportune for the opening up of diplomatic negotiations of a serious character. India today is no longer content with petty reforms. She asks for self-government as her inalienable right and is prepared during the transition to leave control over the army and relations with foreign Powers in the hands of the British Government. But this represents the limits within which discussions may profitably be conducted.

India asks for self-government for fundamentally sound reasons. Her manhood is being emasculated owing to the denial of military careers and of a thorough military training for the defense of her borders against foreign aggression. Her industries are not being developed. With the exception of a very few commercial colleges where theoretical instruction is given in commerce, most of the schools and colleges give instruction which does not equip for the struggles of life.

Sir John Simon is for the first time in

his life in direct contact with the realities of the Indian situation. He is now reported to have made an offer that the committee set up by the Central Legislature shall meet the Commission in open joint conference and shall have equality of status with the Commission in examining witnesses and in submitting its report to the Indian Parliament, which, moreover, will be published in London simultaneously

mentary development in India for the future has been achieved by the able and inspiring leadership of Sir Abdur Rahim, former High Court Judge and now President of the All-India Muslim League, and by Mr. Jinnah, the eminent jurist and political leader in Bombay. Under their guidance the Muslim League has adopted and the Indian National Congress has endorsed joint electorates for Hindus and



Gandhi, leader of the Indian non-cooperative movement, photographed during one of his campaigns on behalf of home-spun cloth

with the report of the Royal Commission. The refusal of the Muhammadan Nationalist leaders—e. g., Dr. Ansari, the President of the Indian National Congress this year, Maulana Muhammad Ali and others, of independents like Dr. Jinnah, of Hindus like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, is based on the fact that the present Indian Parliament has potentialities of authority, but, unlike the British Parliament, it has not the real controlling power at the present moment. In any case such a natural concurrence of both Hindu and Muhammadan leaders on matters of vital moment emphasizes the fact to any disinterested observers that the National Congress is not a Hindu organization, but a forum for the national aspirations of all who love democratic freedom and progress and profess and call themselves Indians.

MOSLEMS AND INDIANS UNITING

But the most outstanding triumph which promises to revolutionize the whole parlia-

Muhammadans. The policy of *Divide et impera* has thus received a stunning blow, for the bitter antagonisms and fierce jealousies between the two historic communities which were recently fanned into flame were the direct product of the communal electorates set up both under the Minto-Morley scheme of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. The communal principle aggravated differences instead of producing a harmonizing and unifying effect in the interest of national solidarity, the Muhammadans were encouraged to think of their religion and their community and not of a common devotion to the public good.

But quite apart from the non-cooperation movement and any abstract loyalties, such as to the principle of self-determination, there have been more cogent reasons for the resistance offered to the operation of the reforms. The truth of the matter is that the more far-sighted leaders with a judicial balance and real political insight perceived at once that, even as a transi-

tional expedient, dyarchy [the dualised form of government established for the Provincial Governments, giving control of some departments to Ministers, of others to the Governor-in-Council] was unworkable. A unitary system of government is comprehensible, but the subdivision of the essential spheres of government and their respective assignment to politician and permanent official, with divergent ideals, different aims and varying degrees of authority, is a political experiment unparalleled in the history of constitution making, and by its inherent defects was foredoomed to disappointment and failure. But our critics might retort that the constitutional development of a country does not necessarily proceed from logically inpeccable reforms, and that mistakes are rectified as experience matures.

REFORMS NON-WORKABLE

Happily for the political reputation of India, the Government, to provide ample scope for the new experiment, successfully manoeuvred the ebb and flow in the fortunes of the non-cooperation movement. The result was that a sufficient number of distinguished public men were found available outside the ranks of the National Congress who were prepared to accept office and work the reforms. They did their best to work the reforms, but met with varying degrees of failure. Why? Because it is no light task for a politician responsible to his Council to collaborate with an irremovable executive official who makes the needs of his department the first charge on the province revenues and assigns to the Indian Minister the fragments that remain. Besides, the Minister has not a sufficient *locus standi* with a permanent official belonging to a covenanted service. But this is not all. Apart from the unequal yoking of politician and covenanted official, the allocation of funds sufficient to cover the cost of new developments was counter-vailed by the Governor's statutory obligation to pay to the Central Government an

amount from the provincial revenues, after which disbursement the Indian Ministers were left financially quite high and dry, with plenty of plans but no funds!

It is the actual experience with the inside working of the Reforms act, which has now compelled responsible ex-Ministers like Mr. Chintamani, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru; former Executive Councillors like Sir Ali Imam and others to swell the ranks of the non-cooperators. It was with the cooperation of these men that the Government was able to defeat the orthodox cult of non-cooperation. It is nothing short of poetic justice that four years after the weakening of his program of non-cooperation Mr. Gandhi should now see the full fruition of his arduous labors and all his opponents converted at last to his point of view.

No one wishes to depreciate the work of the Government of India in the maintenance of peace and the construction of the irrigation canals. The present writer has written several articles on the subject for the London reviews, giving the Government a full measure of praise. But it must not be forgotten that we had inundation canals before the British ever set foot on India, and that the present irrigation canals have not been a philanthropic enterprise. Over and above the handsome salaries paid to English engineers, some of the larger systems are paying as high dividends as 47 per cent. on the capital outlay. Besides, the Irrigation Department charges the peasant cultivators about \$7 per matured acre for the supply of water from the distributaries. Land revenue is the sheet anchor of Indian finance, and you cannot exploit the peasantry until you first provide them with abundant water for raising crops.

The question of Indian self-government, finally, does not rest on the merits or demerits of the present Government. Campbell-Bannerman decided it long ago by his dictum that good government is no proper substitute for self-government.

Rome, Italy.



Mustapha Kemal—Maker of the New Turkey

By IBRAHIM A. KHAIRALLAH

FORMERLY CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL OFFICE, EGYPTIAN MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

GHAZI MUSTAPHA KEMAL, the maker of modern Turkey, was born in 1880 at Salonica, the city that came into such prominence in recent years as the centre of movements that overthrew the old Turkish régime, and, with varying degrees of success, endeavored to lay the foundations of a modern State more in harmony with the spirit of the times. The Ghazi, or "the Victorious," comes from a bourgeois family; his father was at one time a subordinate Government official and later a timber merchant. Early in life he evinced a marked predilection for mathematics, and his intelligence so impressed his tutor that he called him "Kemal," or "Perfect," a designation which he still bears.

In 1904 he was graduated from the Military Academy with the rank of Captain. His liberal tendencies and hostility to the Hamidian régime, which he shared with the liberals of the "Young Turkey" secret organization, which caused the tenant of Yıldız Palace more worry than the manifold troubles of the Empire, soon brought him into trouble with the central Government. He was arrested and cast into prison, and on his release was sent away to one of the distant provinces of the Empire—a procedure resorted to in the case of youthful and not overdangerous liberals. Fortunately for Kemal, the province he was removed to was Syria, and not Yemen or some other desolate spot in Arabia; for in Damascus, and later at Jaffa, where he was assigned to the post of a subordinate officer, he found kindred spirits who sullenly chafed under the tyranny of the "Red Sultan." From Jaffa he surreptitiously made his way via Egypt and Greece to Salonica, where, with other officers, he founded the "Union and Progress Committee" that overthrew Abdul Hamid in 1908 and proclaimed the Constitution. His activities were reported by the host of spies that infested the country, and orders for his arrest were issued, but through the assistance of his personal friend Djemil Bey, then Sub-Commandant of Police at Salonica and actually head of the Department of the Interior at Angora,

he escaped and regained his post at Jaffa; and the episode was hushed.

The *coup d'état* of 1908 brought Kemal back to Constantinople, and at the congress of the Union and Progress Committee convened at Salonica soon after the proclamation of the Constitution we find him strenuously combatting the policy advocated by Enver Bey, which aimed at dragging the army into the conflict and urging the absolute necessity of keeping it out of politics. He clearly foresaw the sinister results that would follow the adoption of such a policy—the establishment of a military dictatorship and the corruption of the army by adventurers who would inevitably be tempted to sacrifice the welfare of the country to their own interests. He earnestly pleaded for the establishment of a real democracy and not the mere readaptation of the corrupt system of the Sultanate; and it is fitting to note that throughout his career he remained faithful to his principles and struggled for their realization. On finding that his earnest pleas were spent in vain he definitely severed his connection with the Committee.

In 1911, during the Italo-Turkish war, he eluded the vigilance of the authorities in Egypt and made his way to Tripoli, where he took command of the forces at Derna and fought the Italians to the end.

During the Balkan War in 1912, he was sent to Gallipoli to check the sweeping advance of the Bulgarians; and on the conclusion of the disastrous peace he was appointed Military Attaché at Sofia, which post he retained until the outbreak of the Great War.

Kemal was never an admirer of German strategy. In the momentous months of the Summer of 1914 he resolutely opposed his country's intervention and urged the policy of watchful waiting. But Enver, who was always an admirer of the methods of Potsdam and an instrument of the German war party, won again and reduced Turkey to the position of a mere satellite of Germany. Not so Kemal, who throughout the war was engaged in a continuous struggle against

German hegemony, and on every possible occasion criticized the Kaiser's Generals and openly stated that the issue would be fatal to the German cause. Still he did his duty and made the most of the small commissions reluctantly entrusted to him. But the fact remained that he was a thorn in the side of Enver, who, to get him out of the way, appointed him to the command of a non-existent division—a division he charged him to form out of units decimated at the front and of convalescents. Yet, from this flotsam and jetsam of human derelicts he formed a model division that distinguished itself under his command at Gallipoli. The story of the disasters that befell the Allies at the Dardanelles is well known, and the advantage he gained over them in that sector constitutes one of the most striking feats of strategy displayed in the war.

On the Caucasian front, where he was transferred from Gallipoli, he retrieved the heavy losses sustained by Enver, and, by recapturing Moush and Bitlis from the Russians, wiped out the humiliating defeats suffered by the Turkish arms. In the Syrian campaign, he was constantly at odds with the German Generals. The memoirs of Djemal Pasha abound in references to friction between himself and Kemal, on the one hand, and the German Generals, on the other. In vain Kemal appealed to the War Ministry and the Grand Vizier; his complaints and reports remained without answer. Realizing that his cooperation with the Germans was impossible under such circumstances, he resigned and returned to Constantinople. There he was designated to accompany the Turkish Heir Apparent to Germany. He toured the front, and disconcerted his official guides with his far from flattering remarks, some of which have been quoted by René Marchand in his recent book, *Le Réveil d'Une Race*:

"Where are your reserves?"

"We have none."

"Then you are not the victors you assert you are. Your situation is critical."

"You have lost the war," was the blunt answer he gave to Ludendorff, when asked for his impressions.

On his return to Turkey, at the insistence of the new Sultan, Kemal accepted the command of the Seventh Army in Syria. But the end of the campaign was already in view. In the face of overwhelming odds, the Turkish army fell back on Aleppo.

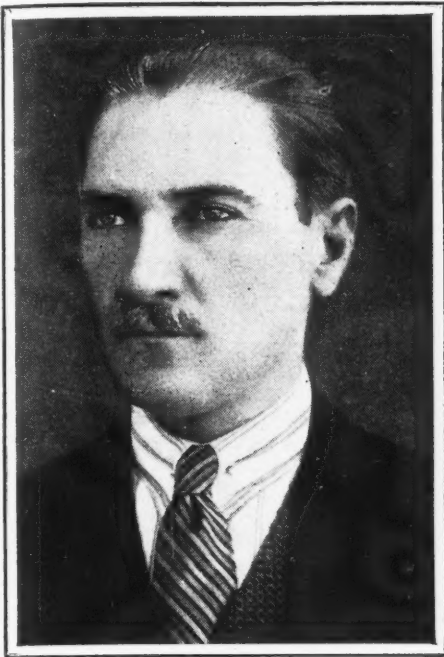
After the armistice, he skillfully extricated his forces from a flanking movement of the British; and, on the refusal of Constantinople to sanction the continuance of

resistance, he resigned, but not before saving as many batteries and troops as he could.

At Constantinople he found utter dejection, even among the ardent nationalists. The disaster seemed irretrievable. Everybody was resigned to fate, and many pinned their last hope on an American mandate to save the Empire from dismemberment. Alone in those tragic days, Mustapha Kemal never lost faith in the destiny of the Fatherland. He still believed that Turkey could be saved, not by reliance on outside help but by her own efforts and through her proper forces.

At Samsoun, on the Black Sea, where he was sent as Inspector of the Ninth Army, after the capture of Smyrna by the Greeks, he started the campaign of rallying the Turkish national forces to liberate the territory. Suspected by the Allies and the Palace, he was recalled to the capital. In answer he sent in his resignation and remained. He called a first Nationalist Congress at Erzroum and, not long afterward, a second at Siwas. Before adjourning, the Congress constituted a permanent committee of which he was made President. The Sultan outlawed him; but his influence grew rapidly, so rapidly, in fact, that the Cabinet of Damad Ferid Pasha was compelled to resign, and the new Cabinet under Ali Riza Pasha endeavored to conclude a truce. In the negotiations which followed, Kemal insisted on the convocation of the National Assembly somewhere in the interior of Asia Minor, away from the influence of the Allies. Ali Riza could not accede to the demand; the British occupied Constantinople, dispersed the Deputies, and deported many of them to Malta. Kemal retaliated by convoking a new Assembly at Angora. The Sultan, then a puppet in the hands of the British, sent an army, called the Army of Order, to bring him to reason, and the Palace fomented uprisings against him among the Anatolian peasantry. The Army of Order was easily defeated, however, and the uprising were crushed.

England then backed Greece, and the armies of the latter made a general advance toward the interior. In two battles fought in January and April, Kemal checked their advance, but England refused to own defeat and sent abundant supplies that enabled the Greeks to resume their general advance on Angora. This new advance was stayed by the Turks after a long-drawn battle of twenty-two days, and for the signal service rendered the National Assembly made Kemal Field Marshal, but the



MUSTAPHA KEMAL

inferiority of his forces with respect to war materials militated against their taking advantage of the victory won and allowed the Greeks to fortify themselves along the impregnable line of Eski-Shehir-Afioun-Karahissar. The campaign was protracted, and day by day the condition of the Turks became more harrowing, as their endurance had been taxed by eight years of continuous fighting and the Allies were in control of large portions of Turkish territory and had complete mastery of the sea, which prevented the smuggling of arms and ammunition. Once more despair set in, and several Deputies and the army began to clamor for peace. But Kemal resolutely opposed all weakening, and patiently prepared for a final effort. He was everywhere—at Angora raising the drooping spirits of the Deputies, in the field haranguing the troops, in the country comforting the people. The hour for which he had long waited struck at last. On Aug. 25, 1922, he informed the Assembly that he would take the offensive on the morrow; which he did, attacking the Greeks at Afioun-Karahissar, the most strongly fortified point in their line, cutting them in two, and in forty-eight hours routing them. On Aug. 30 he engaged them in a second battle and dispersed them, and on Sept. 9 his

troops entered Smyrna. The Entente sued for an armistice, and, in the negotiations which followed, Turkey regained her European possessions as far as the Maritza. Ismet Pasha then proceeded to Lausanne, and won the Allied consent to the abrogation of the capitulations.

On the 29th of October, 1923, the Republic was proclaimed, and the first part of the Ghazi's work was achieved. Turkey, suppressed for a time, was replaced on the map of the world and the past, so fraught with weakness, opprobrium and humiliation, forever effaced.

THE LIBERATOR OF HIS FATHERLAND

Mustapha Kemal's name will go down into history as one of its outstanding figures, not only as the liberator of his Fatherland, but also as the founder of its future greatness and prosperity. Like all great men throughout the ages, he is a man of deep faith and broad vision. His faith in the destiny of the Turkish race was never shaken, not even in the most tragic days that followed the Armistice of 1918 and the Greek invasion of 1921, when the homeland was threatened with dismemberment. Amid frightful scenes of desolation and devastation, he alone kept his faith, resolutely combatted despondency, and uttered the famous words that will go down in history as the credo of peoples threatened with annihilation: "Our people can never die, but if they should, the crust of the earth would not be solid enough to sustain the weight of their coffin."

His military achievements need not detain us long here. Suffice it to say that according to competent impartial military critics, his strategy in the Dardanelles campaign, the routing of the Greeks and the liberation of Anatolia entitle him to a first place among the generals of the Great War. It is more, however, in the field of post-war reconstruction that his title to immortality has its foundation. It is in analyzing the achievements of Republican Turkey, and the progress realized in the short space of a few years, that one gains an adequate idea of the man's real worth as a reformer, administrator and statesman.

Of all the Turkish statesmen of modern times, Kemal alone clearly saw that the only way to save Turkey from senile decay and establish its future prosperity on a sound and lasting basis was by severing all attachment with the traditions of bygone days. Half measures had been tried and found wanting. The palliative ointments prescribed by his predecessors had failed to

reach the canker. The imposition of Western codes and institutions upon the legal and legislative systems of Turkey had only made matters worse by obscuring the real issues. What was needed was not a palliative, but a lancet; not half measures, but radical measures; not a re-adaptation of the archaic State machinery to modern requirements, but a total demolition of the superannuated structure, and the erection of a new system, more in accord with the spirit of modern times. In short, what was needed was a complete break with the past; the amputation of incompatible foreign bodies that had been annexed, by conquest or of their own volition, but never assimilated; the welding of the scattered elements of the race into a homogeneous nation, and the progressive establishment of a modern State. Such was the policy he advocated, and such the ideal he is seeking to attain, not by leaps and bounds, but by progressive measures consistently enforced. A staunch believer in thorough preparation for every step, nothing is left to chance. Every measure is envisaged from every possible angle before it is passed, but once decided upon it is systematically enforced.

Let us take a few concrete examples. For many years it had been realized that it would be impossible for the Turkish Administration to devise means to assimilate the many foreign bodies in the State and from the melting pot shape a hardy, composite body politic, as the incompatibility of the component elements was too great. The initial mistake of Mohamed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, in giving his sanction to the presence of various administrations within the Ottoman Administration, became more and more irreparable as the years went by, for besides closing the door to any possible fusion or assimilation, it perpetuated sharp religious prejudices and threw the door wide open for the intervention of Western Christian Powers on the plea of protecting Christian minorities. There was no homogeneous Turkish State or nation, but rather a loose federation of heterogeneous peoples kept together by a military caste that was daily growing weaker. Many perhaps thus diagnosed the ailment, but they did not have the breadth of vision and the courage to prescribe the remedy of ridding the Turkish body politic of the foreign growth. The Ghazi, however, had the courage to prescribe the lancet and the steady hand to use it.

Through his able lieutenants at the Peace Conference and in direct negotiations he made the Powers consent to his policy of

exchanging populations—viz., of transferring to Turkey Turks from the territories ceded to the Balkan States, and replacing them with Christians from Turkish territory. Though the sacrifice involved was heavy and the problem he was called upon to face was difficult, he never flinched. Nothing was too costly that would establish a homogeneous Turkish nation and secure for the Turkish State freedom from foreign intervention.

EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

The exchange of populations is now being carried on methodically and progressively. Only so many immigrants are allowed to enter Turkey as can be properly settled and provided with homes and adequate machinery for the reclamation and development of the vast expanses of Anatolia. During the past three years it has been estimated that the Ghazi's Government has spent about 12,000,000 Turkish liras, built 6,400 homes, repaired 12,000 others, and distributed 21,640 heads of cattle and 27,476 plows among immigrants.

But that is not all. So successful has been the renaissance of Turkey under the inspiration of Kemal that nationalists in Persia and in the neighboring mandated territories have made overtures to the new Republic for a rapprochement. All these have, however, been refused: the Ghazi, and with him the new Turkey, have relinquished all idea of aggrandizement, and insist on a Turkish Turkey and nothing else. Their answer to all advances has been that they have all they can well handle in nationalizing their homeland, and winning for it the respect of the outer world.

That was the first step—the creation of a nation placed beyond the possibility of foreign intervention. The second step was to obtain the consent of the Powers to the abrogation of the Capitulations and their unequivocal recognition of Turkey's status as a modern State.

The *raison d'être* of the anomalous Capitulatory régime and the withholding by the Powers of their unqualified recognition of Turkey's sovereign rights was its attachment to the Caliphate, which prevented the secularization of its laws and institutions. The Ghazi saw that the maintenance of the Moslem Law as the State official law rendered Turkey's assumption of the rôle of a Western State impossible. The Moslem Law is a religious law meant for "the Believers," and "the Believers" alone. All non-Moslems were outside the pale. So long as the Koran remained not only the Holy Book of the

true Believer but also his code of law, the State could not enact laws binding on all, regardless of their religious belief or nationality, could not be mistress over her own dominions; progress was impossible and Turkey could not aspire to be a State in the modern acceptance of the term. But the Koran was the very life and soul of the Caliphate, and the Caliphate for several centuries had been the fundamental principle on which the Sultanate reposed. The Sultanate had conferred special privileges on the powerful class of the "*hodjas*," who were represented in the Imperial Cabinet by the influential Sheikh-ul-Islam, who often swayed the whole body and stultified the efforts of reformers. Further, the Shari Law, or rather its wrongful interpretation, had consecrated woman's inferiority, doomed her to seclusion and deprived the nation of the useful labor and intelligence of one-half of its members. Again, through the privileges it conferred upon "Believers" it perpetuated animosities and prejudices and militated against the fusion of the different elements of the Empire. To establish a New Turkey, therefore, on solid foundations the nation had to be weaned from the Moslem Law, the Sultanate and the Caliphate.

ABOLITION OF SULTANATE AND CALIPHATE

Such being the conclusion reached, Kemal systematically carried it out. The first step was the abolishing of the Sultanate, which had become odious to all on account of the treachery of the Sultan and his escape on a British warship soon after the collapse of the Greek invasion, the recapture of Smyrna and the threatened march on Constantinople. The second was the suppression of the Turkish Caliphate, which on the deposition of the Sultan had remained without a head. And the third and last step was the proclamation of the Republic on Oct. 29, 1923, when the nation had been properly prepared therefor.

With the proclamation of the Republic, the first milestone in the constructive policy of Kemal was passed. The Law and the State were secularized. Affiliation with a particular religion today is no longer the magic charm which throws open the doors to civil employment and preferment. Religion can no longer be manipulated by foreign Powers as a motive for intervention, for since the enforcement of the Civil Law and its successful operation, the Minorities, whose rights had been guaranteed by a special provision in the Treaty of Lausanne, have petitioned for admission into

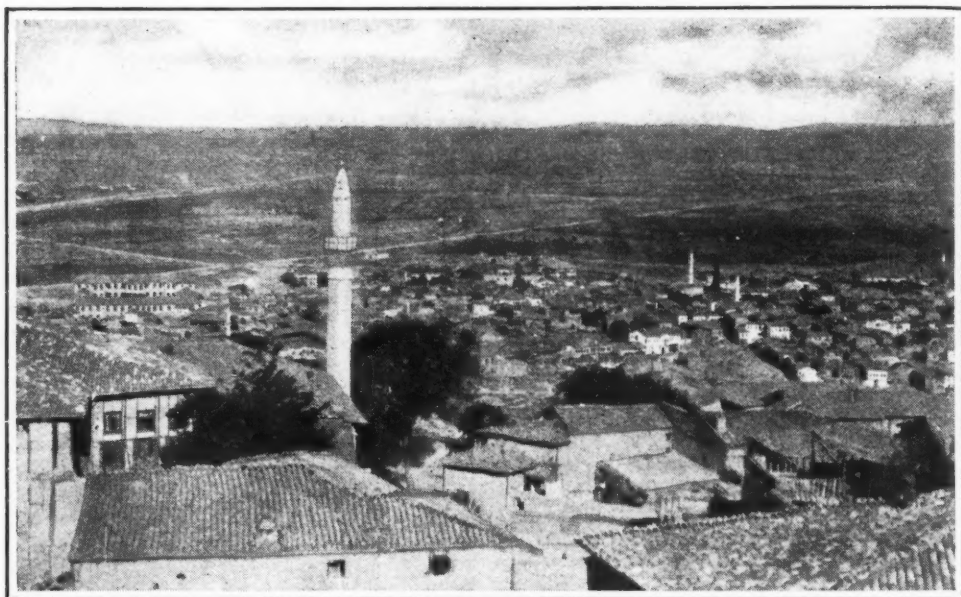
the new régime and participation in its benefits. Religion is no longer a sanction for woman's inferiority, nor a bar to the marriage of a Turkish Moslem woman with a non-Moslem. The veil, the harem and polygamy are things of the past. Every child on reaching majority, the boy at the age of 18, and the girl at 16, are free to follow the religion of their choice. Further, by recent legislation medical examination of the parties intending to enter into the matrimonial relation is made necessary, and the presentation of a medical certificate as to fitness is required before the Civil Magistrate can solemnize the marriage. The many-colored "*Shershesh*," for so many years a picturesque sight in the bazaars of somnolent Stamboul and other Turkish cities, has vanished and is replaced by costumes patterned after the latest creations of the Rue de la Paix. To be sure, bizarreries are still seen, but an intense wave of Westernism is felt at every turn. Music halls, cinematograph palaces and variety shows have sprung up overnight, as in dancing halls young men and young women sway to the tune of the latest jazz.

The transformation of Turkey is progressing rapidly under the guidance of the Ghazi and his able lieutenants, and it may be said that he has an uncanny power of appraising men and placing the right man in the right place. His policy is to effect a complete rupture with the past. Nothing, not even the distinctive headdress, should distinguish the Turk from the Western people. It was not to satisfy a mere whim that the suppression of the "*turboush*" was decreed, but rather because it was realized that it symbolized a humiliating past. The privileged class of "*hodjas*" might have condoned other innovations, but the donning of the hat was something that could not be tolerated. To their prejudiced eyes it was just as much the distinctive symbol of unbelievers as the eating of the flesh of unclean swine and the drinking of wine! Still it was evident that the patriot who had freed the soil of the Fatherland from the profanations of Christians could not very well be accused of being an infidel. Kemal, whose fingers were on the pulse of the nation, understood all this and made up his mind accordingly. With the same fearlessness that characterized all his actions, he launched his attack on the stronghold of the die-hards, a small town in one of the provinces. On a bright sunny day, he sauntered along the main street of the town with a hat on, and explained to the amazed

crowd that gathered that the hat was a better headdress than the tarboush. Were they not a civilized people that no longer wished to be distinguished in any way from other civilized peoples? His simple manner and sincerity won them on the spot, and that town and province were the first to adopt the hat.

To establish the roots of the social revolution firmly and prevent any reversion to

field of education. Whereas in 1914 there were 2,632 primary schools throughout the Empire, with a total enrolment of 250,290 pupils and 8,165 instructors, in 1926 there were 5,883 primary schools with 385,455 students and 11,770 teachers. Small as these figures may seem to be when compared with primary schools in America, it must be remembered that we have here the mere beginnings of the educational reforms,



A view of Angora, capital of the new Turkey

the customs of the old régime, Kemal and the National Assembly are untiringly working to implant the seeds of the new culture in the bosoms of the younger generation, and are giving their wholehearted support to the spread of education. Primary education has been made compulsory and free, and coeducation tentatively introduced into some of the higher schools. By two measures passed in 1924 and 1926, the reactionary religious instruction hitherto given in "madrasahs" has been suppressed, and the modern national lay school established. Religious instruction of sectarian character has been deleted from the curriculums of secondary schools, and reduced to reasonable proportions in the primary schools, weaned however from the impress of any particular dogma, and confined to the exposition of the basic ethical principles of religion.

Statistics show marked progress in the

and that the figures represent the progress achieved in the amazingly short period of three years. Moreover, the effort must be viewed in the light of other more pressing calls made upon the Treasury in connection with problems of reconstruction in other fields—the settlement of about 100,000 immigrants each year, who are admitted under the "Agreements to Exchange Populations," the construction of railway lines and telephones, the improvement of sanitation, and the revolutionizing of industry and agriculture. The task of Kemal and the Assembly is stupendous, and their achievements are all the more praiseworthy because effected by a war-weary nation and a depleted treasury.

It would be impossible here to enter into the details of the program envisaged by Kemal and his Government. It may not be out of place, however, to make passing remarks about its most important features.

In the field of public works a provision is made in the budget for the expenditure of 25,000,000 Turkish liras annually, for a period of ten years, for the construction of railroads. Adequate provision is likewise made for the construction of national roads and others connecting the villages with the provincial centres. Agricultural implements, cattle and seeds are distributed among farmers and immigrants. Commerce and industry have been given a great impetus—imports rose from 144,788,671 Turkish pounds in 1923 to 242,314,118 in 1925, and exports from 84,651,189 to 193,119,453. The total tonnage of Turkish vessels rose from 132,242 in 1926 to 200,000 in 1927. The number of commercial societies has increased from 138 in 1914 to 310. The revenues from the Heraclea coal fields rose from 100,000 Turkish pounds in 1920 to 1,186,000 in 1927.

All these changes were not received without opposition, aggressive in certain quarters and sullenly passive in others. Certain over-zealous members of the opposition, proved to have been implicated in conspiracies, were tried by the National Assembly sitting as Court Martial, convicted and executed. This infliction of the extreme penalty has been characterized in certain quarters as harsh, but justified in others on grounds of political expediency. The memory of the plot engineered by the British Indian subject, Mohamed es-Saghir, in the dark days of the Greek advance on Angora was still fresh in the minds of all; the fate of the new régime was at stake; and it is after all to be conceded that the Turkish Revolution has taken a lesser toll of human life than revolutions elsewhere. Moreover, only those members of the opposition who were directly implicated in conspiracies were executed, while the others were allowed to retain their seats and voice their opinions.

The great fire that devastated certain quarters of Smyrna on its recapture from the Greeks has likewise been condoned by admirers of Kemal, who argue that even if the responsibility for it were definitely pinned upon the Turks, it should be remembered that the Turkish troops were frenzied by the sight of their charred homes and the wanton destruction of their farms by the retreating Greeks. They assert that over 200,000 homes in Western Asia Minor were

destroyed, and over 20,000,000 vines uprooted. Be that as it may, the incident is too recent to permit the passing of an impartial judgment. Later on when viewed in proper perspective, a saner judgement may be possible.

Kemal's marriage with the daughter of a rich Smyrna merchant and his divorce not very long afterward have been variously commented upon. Those who, for one reason or another, believe in the adage "once a Turk always a Turk," find in the divorce decree, which was signed by Kemal himself, a decided tendency to arbitrariness. But they seem to forget that the divorce took place before the adoption of the Civil Code, when the country was still governed by the Moslem law. Under the Shari law divorce required no legal proceedings: the husband was the arbiter and had only to pronounce a certain formula thrice and the wife was divorced. Kemal cannot be justly described as dictatorial. His career protests against such a designation. A national hero idolized by all, who could have made himself Sultan if he had wished, and who yet prefers the rôle of a simple citizen, and bends every atom of energy in him firmly to establish the roots of the Republic, is by no means a dictator. He could never be one even if he wanted, because the power is vested in the National Assembly, and the President of the Republic and his Government are but the executive section of that body.

Kemal's outstanding characteristics are an all-consuming patriotism and devotion to his country; a tenacity of purpose which he shares with all the Anatolian peasantry, and a profound faith in the destiny of his people. He is a strategist and an administrator of the first class; an indefatigable worker with a decidedly practical bent of mind; a magnetic leader of men; a keen observer and profound thinker; a man of iron when duty calls, yet withal a "hail-fellow" and a boon companion, who in the midst of the strenuous responsibilities of the State finds time for relaxation and gayety, enjoys a good drink, a nice dance and a good show.

Such is the sketch of the man of the century. Republican Turkey is the monument of his greatness, for it was his unflinching faith in the destiny of his race that replaced his country on the map and made her a respected and useful member of the comity of nations.



The Polish Corridor Issue

This and the following article embody replies by official Polish spokesmen to the article by Frederick C. Linfield, former member of the British House of Commons, published in the February *CURRENT HISTORY* under the title, "The Polish Corridor An Obstacle to Peace," which attacked the existing arrangement and sought to demonstrate its unfairness to the people of East Prussia and to Germany as well.—ED.

The "Corridor" Indispensable to Peace

By THADDEUS HOINKO

ASSISTANT SECRETARY, AMERICAN POLISH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN NEW YORK

WHY not be frank, truthful and businesslike about the Polish Corridor? Why not base the decision as to the merits of the case on impartial weighing of the facts? These are the facts:

1. The Polish Corridor separates from Germany a province called East Prussia (which, by the way, was once a fief of Poland). The population of all Germany is 62,474,872, while that of East Prussia, which is predominantly an agricultural country, is 2,220,000—only a little over 3.5 per cent. of the whole.

2. Even before the war the geographic position of East Prussia was peculiar. This province, together with West Prussia, formed a peninsula of the German Empire, jutting out in a narrow strip far to the northeast, bordered on the north by the Baltic Sea and on the northeast, east and south by Russian territory.

3. Due to its remoteness, East Prussia even before 1914 possessed a marked "colonial" character. It is true that it became endowed with this character only as a result of the creation of the Polish Corridor.

4. It should not be imagined, further, that East Prussia is separated by a "Chinese Wall" from the German mainland. First, there is the water. On account of the cheapness of water freightage, the commerce between East Prussia and the German mainland, even in pre-war days, was principally carried on overseas. Second, there is unimpeded direct railway communication between East Prussia and the German mainland through Polish Pomerania, or the Corridor, which arrangement has been assured Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and a special Polish-German convention.

5. Economic life neither of the German mainland nor of the East Prussian "colony" has suffered to any appreciable ex-

tent as a result of the restoration to Poland of her old province, Pomerania.

6. Some critics say that "appeals to ancient history leave them cold." Nevertheless, it is pertinent to record that Polish Pomerania was annexed by the Germans in 1308 and was in their possession until 1454, or 146 years. At that time Pomerania went back to Poland and remained in Poland's possession until the first partition of the old Polish Kingdom in 1772, that is, for 318 years. On Jan. 10, 1920, parts of Polish Pomerania, after 148 years of German dominion, were returned to Poland, thus giving to the restored nation partial access to the sea. This old Polish province, mutilated and only partly restored to Poland, is called by the Germans and their protagonists "the Corridor."

7. Other critics of the present Corridor magnanimously state that "Poland's claim to be a nation once again was indisputable, and nobody disputes it." If this is so, then the ethnological argument as regards the Corridor should not be scoffed at. The Corridor has at the present time about 800,000 inhabitants, of whom 85 per cent. are Polish. This statement is substantiated by the following facts:

a. During the election of the Polish Parliament on Nov. 5, 1922, only 15 per cent. of the Corridor's population voted for the German ticket.

b. While under German rule (from 1871 to 1918) in the fifteen elections to the Reichstag this province returned only Polish candidates. Not once was a German candidate elected.

8. We presume that the impartial critics of the Corridor will concede that there are two partners to a deal and that Poland's interests, as well as Germany's, should be taken into consideration. Has not Poland, a nation of 30,000,000 people—nearly half

the population of Germany—a right to free and secure access to the sea, like other nations which have the will to live and develop? The United Kingdom has 100 per cent. of sea frontiers, Spain has about 66 per cent., France and Italy 50 per cent. each, Germany about 25 per cent. Poland's disputed sea frontier is only a little over 1 per cent. To be more specific, Germany's sea frontier extends 1,488 kilometers, while Poland has only 76 kilometers. Poland thus far has had access to the sea only through the free city of Dantzig, and as this is insufficient for her needs, is now building her own port at Gdynia. Germany has numerous ports, such as Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Stettin, Kolberg, Königsberg (in East Prussia)—to mention only a few.

The whole basin of the Vistula River—the only big Polish river—from its source to its mouth has been populated from time immemorial by the Polish race. The Corridor embraces the mouth of that Polish river, the life-nerve of the restored nation.

9. One of the recent critics of the Polish Corridor says lyrically:

The inhabitants of five villages now become Polish on the right bank of the Vistula are liable at high water and ice drift to be cut off completely from Poland * * * Deutsch Eylau, a city once flourishing, has become a waste, its three railway lines dismantled, with grass growing over the disused tracks and on three main roads which once were busy thoroughfares. * * * Garnsee once had six flourishing animal markets and booths were let at a rental of 30 marks per booth. Today no one demands a booth. The bi-weekly fairs have ceased to exist, and at the four annual cattle markets there are at least a few head of cattle which find no buyers.

DANTZIG AS WORLD PORT

This is purported to be a serious argument for the return of the Corridor to Germany. The writer referred to mentions the decay of some five villages and the "city" of Deutsch Eylau, numbering 10,000 people, but fails to mention the astounding development of Dantzig as a world port, due directly to its new Polish



Map of Poland showing how East Prussia is separated from the rest of Germany

connection. The following table (taken from *The Economic Progress of Poland*, Warsaw, 1928) gives figures for net registered tonnage of departing vessels and percentages of increase:

	Net reg. tonnage in round figures.	Monthly P. Cts. averages. of inc.
1913.....	931,000	77,580 100
1920.....	979,860	81,670 105
1922.....	1,428,820	119,070 153
1924.....	1,648,023	137,330 178
1926.....	3,432,480	286,040 370
1927 (3d quarter) .....	.....	343,200 443

10. In considering this problem it must also be borne in mind that there are many other countries, some of them the most powerful in the world, which are much more "dismembered" than is Germany through its separation from remote and industrially undeveloped East Prussia. For instance, the United Kingdom of Great Britain consists of two islands without any bridge connecting them; the United States is separated from the Territory of Alaska. Notwithstanding this, these countries are quite sound.

Now, in the light of all the mentioned facts, we will ask plain but honest and sensible business men to pass judgment on which is the more important for the stability of world economic relations (not to speak of such old-fashioned ideas as justice)—for Germany and East Prussia to cut off Poland from the sea entirely or for Poland to separate East Prussia partially from its mainland? For Germany the present arrangement is undoubtedly an inconvenience; for Poland it is a matter of death or life. Let me at this point quote verbatim an extract from the note of the Allied and Associated Powers of June 16, 1919, addressed to the President of the German delegation at the Paris Conference:

German historians have always recognized that Eastern Prussia was not originally a German country. There is no doubt that it would be convenient for Germany if this country, which has been conquered by the German sword and torn from its first inhabitants, were in direct contact with Germany, but Germany's convenience is not a sufficient reason to justify the continuation of the dismembering and parceling out of another nation. Moreover, any interest which the Germans living in Eastern Prussia may have—and their number does not amount to 2,000,000—to establish a means of access by land with Prussia, is far less vital than the interest which the whole Polish nation has in obtaining direct access to the sea. The greater part of the commerce of Eastern Prussia with the rest of Germany is carried on by sea. * * * For Poland it is essential to have direct and uninterrupted communication with Dantzig and the rest of the coast, by means of railway lines which should be under the complete control of the Polish State. The inconvenience which the new frontiers might occasion to Eastern Prussia are negligible when one compares them with that which any other arrangement would cause to Poland. Furthermore, the importance of the railway line which links Eastern Prussia with Germany has been fully recognized in the treaty and articles have been inserted in it to this effect. These articles have just been revised with the greatest of care and they guarantee in the fullest possible manner that no obstacle shall be interposed to communications across the intervening Polish territory.

ALLEGED POLISH "INEFFICIENCY"

There have been many prophets of doom who, especially after the partition of Upper Silesia as a result of the plebiscite, saw the end of things due to alleged Polish "inefficiency." These gentlemen may be interested in the following: If the output figures for April, 1926, that is for the month immediately preceding the coal strike

in England, are taken to be equal to 100, then the corresponding figures of Polish output as compared with those of other countries are as follows:

	OUTPUT OF COAL			
	April, 1926.	Oct., 1927.	April, 1927.	July resp. Aug., 1927.
England	100	..	93.6	93.6
Germany	100	133.6	116.8	124.7
United States.....	100	130.8	86.5	80.0
France	100	105.7	105.7	81.1
POLAND	100	159.1	118.2	145.4

	OUTPUT OF PIG IRON			
	April, 1926.	Oct., 1927.	April, 1927.	July resp. Aug., 1927.
England	100	..	126	120
Germany	100	140	158	166
United States.....	100	97	99	86
France	100	106	101	100
POLAND	100	130	230	272

	OUTPUT OF STEEL			
	April, 1926.	Oct., 1927.	April, 1927.	July resp. Aug., 1927.
England	100	14	128	103
Germany	100	135	149	157
United States.....	100	100	100	77
France	100	109	100	100
POLAND	100	202	230	261

We readily admit that it is rather inconvenient for Germany to have East Prussia separate from her. We suspect, at the same time, however, that this economic inconvenience is really of a minor importance in the eyes of Germany, the primary reason of her dissatisfaction being wounded pride and lack of love for her eastern neighbor, who only a few years ago was her subject. Former lords, especially those who were harsh, do not sympathize usually with their enfranchised subjects. The English of 1780 did not especially love Americans.

A NATURAL HINTERLAND

Moreover, it should be kept in mind that if the Polish Corridor partially separates East Prussia from its German mainland, the former to a greater degree cuts off Poland from free access to the Baltic Sea, Poland being a natural hinterland for East Prussia. Certain "impartial" critics claim that the present arrangement cannot be considered as permanent and try by the delicate threat of a new war (the future incendiary not being mentioned) to create a favorable opinion toward a new partition of Poland, which would bottle her up, so to speak, with the cork left in the hands of Germany, who has shown such love and consideration for Poland.

If any "revision" is in order, may not the writer be permitted also to submit, privately of course, the following quite practical solution of the thorny problem? East Prussia is a dam separating the great Polish hinterland from free contact with the

sea. Why not, therefore, give the whole of East Prussia to Poland, reimbursing Germany by restoring to her at least part of her overseas colonies, now mostly in possession of Great Britain? If this solution is not pleasing to the critics, let them not

undermine by unfounded and fanciful suggestions the present arrangement (the only just one under the circumstances) and a *sine qua non* to the existence of independent Poland and the economic and political stability of Europe.

False Interpretations of the Situation in East Prussia

By EDWARD G. CHWATCZYNSKI

EDITOR, *Kurier Poranny*, WARSAW; CHIEF DELEGATE, POLISH PRESS DELEGATION TO AMERICA

THE article by Mr. Frederick C. Linfield in the February issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* is evidently based upon biased sources. Mr. Linfield naïvely confesses at the outset that his material about Poland was collected on a trip to Germany to study industrial conditions. In fairness to Poland, therefore, it is necessary to correct the erroneous impression which is bound to result from a reading of Mr. Linfield's article.

It would, however, be too long and dreary a task to correct all the misstatements made by Mr. Linfield, so that correction of some of the outstanding errors must be taken as typical.

A short glance at the data concerning Dantzig, which today enjoys a turnover of goods three times as large as in the best pre-war year, when it was still a part of Germany; the facts with regard to the newly constructed Polish port Gdynia, and, last but not least—and I imagine this will be virgin material so far as Mr. Linfield is concerned—the data concerning the present status of navigation on the Vistula, proves beyond any doubt that in general the production and turnover of goods have been greatly stimulated, instead of hampered by the new territorial conditions.

Mr. Linfield is unaware of this body of data and we have to take account of his ignorance. There are, however, things worse than ignorance. For example, from his German investigation of conditions in Poland, he makes the remarkable statement that today we are witnessing, with regard to the Vistula River,

the complete destruction of all that Prussian administration, diligence and pains, have for years so carefully built up. Dikes and dams are all in an extremely dangerous state. In respect to that part of the river flowing through Congress Poland, the state of affairs is even worse. The consequences

of this neglect and especially of the discontinuing of the necessary regular dredging operations are making themselves felt in the river navigation. The sandbanks which cause so much obstruction and risk to the boatmen have again accumulated in many places. The maximum draught of vessels navigating the river has been considerably reduced. For this reason alone the navigation of the Vistula has inevitably diminished. And the result is that very soon there will be on this important water highway no ships at all to speak of. As a matter of plain present fact, the traffic on the river now in one month is not equal to what it formerly was in one day.

True, Mr. Linfield admits that these amazingly wrong assertions are "*ex parte* statements and subject to reserve," and makes the naïve suggestion that "it is possible that Polish inefficiency is exaggerated in the accounts given by Germans." The main facts, however, he contends, "are hardly disputable."

The following are the real facts which are not disputable at all. The bed of the Vistula has been maintained by the Polish administration in the very same shape in which the Prussians kept it before the war. Under the Polish administration there has not been a single instance of flood, broken dikes, or the formation of new sandbanks. Navigation on the lower Vistula, stimulated by the new harbor built by the Poles at Tezew (Dischau) to ease the congestion of the ports of Dantzig and Gdynia, has increased the navigation on the lower Vistula from 210,000 tons in the year 1909 to 511,000 tons in 1926.

Mr. Linfield asserts that the exports of cattle from West and East Prussia to Posen have virtually ceased, which he takes as an indication of terrible conditions. This may be dismissed with the information, easily obtainable even for Mr. Linfield, that Poland exports cattle and agricultural prod-

ucts to Germany, and is not a cattle importing country.

The last of Mr. Linfield's statements dealing with what he calls "the actual present mischief of the Polish Corridor" concerns the difficulties and the economic waste arising out of the separation of East Prussia and Germany in the matter of transportation. It is not necessary to recite all the extensive measures taken in the Versailles Treaty and the Polish-German conventions of Paris and Geneva to provide for free transit of goods and persons between Germany and East Prussia. In refutation of Mr. Linfield's statements, it is necessary only to quote official German opinion of the manner in which these arrangements have worked out in practice, to be found on page 9 of the pamphlet, edited by the German Reich Railway authorities in Königsberg, published by Grade and Unzer, and entitled *East Prussian Economics and Communications Before and After the War*, viz.:

It can be stated * * * with satisfaction that the continual endeavors of the German Reich Railways have succeeded in putting aside these difficulties after prolonged negotiations with the Polish Railway Administration.

In regard to transit traffic East Prussia can no longer be called "enclave." The Reich Railways have bridged the way over the Polish transit territory.

That was no easy task. Since June 1, 1922, there has been in force an agreement signed at Paris, which forms a safe judicial base for the future, and which affords the Reich Railway the necessary means against the Polish Railways Administration in case difficulties should arise in the question of transit. For over a year transit traffic has been carried on without friction, as though Germany herself had the management of the traffic in the Polish Corridor.

The accounts for freightage of the German internal tariffs are reckoned as if the territory ceded to Poland and lying between East Prussia and Poland were still German. It must be acknowledged that the Polish Railways Administration does all in its power to discharge its obligations under the treaty. Therefore, it can be hoped that in future all difficulties in regard to traffic can also be easily eliminated.

In consequence of this development, the question whether it would be of any use to direct the traffic between East Prussia and the remainder of Germany totally or partially by sea has lost its practical importance.

Space does not permit more detailed refutation of the mistakes made by Mr. Linfield, and the consequently false arguments reared on such an uncertain base. I will conclude with the reflection that there can be no greater obstacle to peace than misunderstanding, and nothing is so calculated to foster misunderstanding as the dissemination of false and misleading information.



The Challenge—And Menace— Of the Nationalistic Spirit

By LEO GERSHOY

FORMERLY INSTRUCTOR OF HISTORY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY; NOW ENGAGED IN SPECIAL RESEARCH WORK (SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL) ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE Industrial Revolution is less than 200 years old, and the French Revolution less than 150, but the appearance of reality has been more profoundly altered within those years than it had been for the 1,500 years preceding them. In our habits, in our interests and in our organization of society, we differ so broadly from our eighteenth century ancestors as to be members almost of another race of beings. Yet for all the differences, we are fundamentally at one with our remote relatives, because our emotional attachments have remained fundamentally unchanged. Two centuries ago people called themselves patriots and thought in terms of patriotic loyalty to a dynasty or a prince; today we are nationalists and think in terms of nationalism. But the core both of patriotism and of nationalism is the same.

On the surface of things, it would seem that the profound transformation of our material existence which the application of steam and electricity and physics and chemistry has brought about carried with it an equally profound transformation of our emotional attachments. In many ways, it has; as witness the diffusion and the increased compass of our likes and dislikes, which now include orthodox Russians, infidel Turks and heathen Chinese. But in the case of the paramount allegiance—loyalty to one's natal land, to one's native language and to one's historical and cultural traditions—it has effected no change. Moreover, it has re-enforced and intensified that loyalty, which we know as nationalism, to a point where it has become the most ardent faith and a not impossible firebrand of world society.

Writing in the midst of the World War, more than a year before the United States joined the Allies against Germany, Professor J. Holland Rose, eminent authority on Napoleon, proclaimed with finality that "nationalism shows signs of having exhausted its strength except among the most backward peoples. This war is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the movement in its recent narrow and intolerant form." (*Nationality in Modern History*, p. 200.) Perhaps so,

but the point may be debated. Professor Rose anticipated the victory of the Allies and, no doubt, a settlement based upon an equitable recognition of nationalist ideals. The Versailles settlement, laid upon quasi-liberal, but undeniably neo-Metternichian principles, defeated and denied those legitimate ideals. Its manner of waging peace succeeded so effectively as to end all hopes of peace among the nations. Its immediate aftermath was Irredentism. "Sore spots," the evidences of the malady that was ravaging Europe, broke out over the face of that and surrounding Continents. Nationalism, inarticulate through the exigencies of warfare for four long years, disappointed by the territorial arrangements of 1919, vengeful, violent and bellicose, arose from the ashes of the fire that was to have purged it of its narrowness and intolerance. The "backward peoples" arose—Egypt, Turkey, India, the Arabs, the Syrians, the Riffi and now the Chinese nationalists. The nationalist strivings of the peoples within the former Russian Empire were more or less satisfied by the erection of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The civilized and progressive peoples were not immune from the contagion. Fascist Italy and democratic France, victorious Belgium and defeated Germany, "the third British Empire" and the United States—all cultivated their nationalist gardens.

It is worth our consideration to examine nationalism more closely and attempt to learn why it is the most characteristic and the most strongly pronounced emotional force of contemporary society. Nationalism is variously defined as the dynamic expression of the various ideals and activities of a nation, or the principle underlying that dynamic expression. It may also be regarded as the historical process whereby a group of people, one in language, historical and cultural traditions, becomes a nation, i. e., the population of a sovereign political State. This, on the whole, was the meaning given to nationalism throughout the nineteenth century and is the meaning of the current movement in China. But nationalism in its ultimate development is

a quasi-religious faith, a great, world-wide creed with as many distinct, but similarly organized denominations as there are distinct and similarly minded nationalities in the world. It encompasses the world, not in one organic faith, but in a flexible, interdependent network of faiths, each with exclusive, universal and absolute claims upon the allegiance of its adherents. Every nationalist by virtue of his exclusive patriotism, his proud and loyal identification of his interests with those of his nation, and his belief at once in its superiority and its inerrancy, is the potential foe of every other follower of every other nationalist faith. A universal religion like Christianity is a diversity founded upon a real unity; nationalism is a factitious unity founded upon irreconcilable and mutually antagonistic diversities of faith.

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

When an old religious faith declines, nationalism helps bury it. Then, to replace it. If Paris was worth a mass to the tolerant and intensely patriotic Henri IV, how much more is the glory of Eternal Rome worth to the prophet of Fascism? Here is a question in applied religion that deserves serious attention. How much was it worth to the citizens of Imperial Rome in the second and third centuries of the Christian era? Sufficiently, obviously, to accept the worship of the Emperor along with a jumble of outlandish, Oriental religions as substitutes for the doctrines of the old Roman faith. Similarly, loyalty to their prince and patriotic allegiance to their native regions were deemed sufficient justification by the German Protestants for their abjuration of Catholicism. But protracted maladministration, corruption, spiritual flabbiness, no less than the discoveries and the scientific revival had already attenuated Catholicism. Two centuries later, exalted nationalism, such as the world had never before witnessed, nor ever again until our own day, became the religious faith of the French Revolutionists. But a hundred years of rationalism, humanitarianism, and cynicism had already corroded the bases of Christian belief.

Contemporary developments attest this relationship between declining religious conviction and nascent nationalism. Needless to add, nationalism is not engendered by the decline of religious beliefs. But nationalism as a gospel of faith can not take root and grow among a populace which holds fast with intense, personal faith to a sacred religious doctrine.

The surge of Chinese nationalism, sweeping forward to its goal of "China for the Chinese," is a dramatic example of the religious fervor that is liberated by a movement which is essentially political and economic. So long as Confucianism claimed the loyalty of the Chinese masses, satisfying their spiritual cravings for a warm, personal religion and binding them in a close fellowship of reverent belief and traditional practices, nationalism could make no headway. It found lodging only in the awakened and aroused intelligence of the students who had been trained in Occidental ways of thought, or in the dim realization of the native *entrepreneurs* who were reluctant to share the profits of exploited coolie labor with the Western capitalists.

But with the growing disintegration of belief in Confucianism there came a progressive conversion to the gospel of the new faith, Chinese nationalism. This loss of faith, in itself, was more a symptom or even a consequence of the new spirit that was abroad than its cause. The material improvements in Chinese national life which have been introduced since 1911 have undoubtedly had greater weight in weakening the spiritual ties. The codifications of the law, the improved administration of the courts, the astounding increase in the number of good roads—12,000 miles have been added—the reform of the postal service, the adoption of the vernacular speech as the national language and, above all, the introduction of a modern educational system which has notably diminished illiteracy and at the same time spread the national ideals of Sun Yat-sen—all these material changes became the avenues of the new national loyalty. That loyalty was to nationalism, to the vision of a China rid of all foreigners, free of the enslaving and humiliating treaties with the Powers, and launched upon a new millenium of liberty and glory. No matter what our opinion of the ease and the inevitability of the change may be, to them it is real and near at hand.

Moreover, triumphant nationalism will not tolerate the existence of a rival religion by its side. A case in point, and there are several, is the struggle between Fascism and Roman Catholicism. The real issue is not, in the realm of political science, over the Fascist conception of the State. It is over the control of "the education and formation of Christian youth," i.e., an issue which is as old as organized Christianity itself—the question whether religion is made for the State, or the State for religion. The Fascist organizations which prepare

young boys for entrance into the Fascist militia cannot at this stage of developments keep clear of religion, or more accurately, of religiosity. This the Vatican insists that they should do, on the ground that Catholic organizations like the Catholic Pioneers and the Catholic Boy Scouts adequately attend to juvenile education and religious instruction. On the other hand, the Fascisti strenuously object to those organizations because they are international, inculcating loyalty to an extra-Fascist ideal, and also because they are regarded as political nurseries for the Catholic Party, i. e., the Popular Party. Hence, the violent anti-Catholic manifestations of the fanatical Fascisti and the severe rebukes administered them by the Pope.

The Fascist Creed as taught to the children of the Balillas is made to appear as God's word to the "Apostles of Italy and of Fascism." In it Rome becomes the "Mother" of the immaculately conceived Italy, Fascism, the "Holy Father," and Mussolini a peripatetic Holy Spirit, corporeally manifest. The *Impero* of Rome reports an interview with the Countess Aurelia, a lady claiming powers of supernatural vision, partial quotation from which will help us grasp the ecstatic temper of Mussolini's faithful disciples. Ridiculous as it may seem to profane hearers, it yet combines simple humility of adoration with jubilant raptures of thanksgiving to give it that sensuous mock-sublimity which fuses the spirit of the believer—particularly of a Latin believer—with his God. An excerpt of the interview, as given in *The Manchester Guardian* of Jan. 6, 1927, follows:

Exult! Thy Duce hath come to thee from Heaven. Heaven hath given to thee this peerless man, who from the eternal spheres in which his great spirit moved has taken human flesh to bring thee a second birth to glory.

His mission is not of human but of divine origin. The words he speaks are not the mere creation of his exalted spirit, but descend to him from Heaven, and Heaven listens, enraptured, to their echo.

O Italy, thy new potency shall spring from out thy soil. Thou shalt discover in thy soil fabulously wealthy mines, treasures hitherto undiscovered by the men who sought in a spirit of petty interest. This year shall be, then, glorious and proud, O resplendent one. Many luminous goals shall be attained, many ideals hitherto thought unrealizable shall be, by the supreme will of the Archangel, completely realized.

By the grace of God and perhaps also through the pressure of the powers, Fascism may still be chastened, but in the meantime the struggle for spiritual hege-

mony in Italy rages. Unless Fascism collapses without warning, which is not writ in the Countess's horoscope, Roman Catholicism will have to do what it has already so often done in the past—bow before the storm and weather it as best it can. For in the end it will triumph; that is certain; but not without certain concessions to the nationalist fervor. It has given evidence that it is prepared to make them.

NATIONALISM'S MENACE

The menace of nationalism as a gospel of faith, however, lies not in its use, but in its abuse. The danger to the various revealed religions is, after all, more apparent than real, more occasional than permanent. I have stressed the religious aspect of modern nationalism largely to show that through its emotional ascendancy, it blinds men's eyes to the futile, anarchic basis of our international relations, and makes them oblivious to the wars and the chaos that it has created in the first century of its sway.

A very superficial explanation of its misguidance is found in the menace of Irredentism, with all its connotations of armed frontiers, passionate addresses by vehemently patriotic passion-mongers, frequent skirmishes and, finally war. It is unfortunately true that a nationality which has achieved the triumphal dignity of an independent, sovereign State does not fold its metaphorical hands and smile metaphorically and benignly upon the aspirations of a neighboring nationality or the achievements of a neighboring national State. What, then, would be the good of foreign offices and diplomatists in that radiant paradise of nations? No, there exist "unredeemed" regions to which nations hold conflicting claims; some upon previous possession, like France's pre-war claim upon Alsace-Lorraine, some upon great Caesar's ghost, like Italy's yearning for almost everything in the Mediterranean; and some apparently upon love of warm water for bathing, like Russia's itch for Constantinople. The pathetic irony of satisfying nationalist pride by recovering an "unredeemed" region consists in the fact that the territory does not automatically become a redeemed region, but merely "unredeemed" for some other nation. Thus, friends of peace in Europe have not burst into cheers over the existence of the Dantzig Corridor, because it makes travel to the West easier for political refugees and Polish pianists.

A more fundamental explanation takes into account the psychological foundations of nationalism. The basic factor is a feel-

ing of oneness, that feeling which makes an American traveling abroad anxious to return to "God's country" and the forbidden joys of national prohibition. It is the consciousness of a similarity greater and more fundamental than all differences of status, of intelligence and of opinion over God, or Lenin, or Mussolini. But the consciousness of being different from the peoples of other nations or nationalities is the necessary counterpart of the feeling of oneness. Furthermore, this consciousness of being different exercises a more powerful influence upon our emotional responses than the complementary sensation of oneness. In practice, it leads us to establish comparisons, which make up in nationalist fervor what they lack in individual logic. Take, for example, the exchange of international compliments in the English and the French expressions for "skipping out." The English say "to take French leave" and the French, "*filer à l'anglaise*." Both are involuntary and self-conscious; both express the growing pains of nationalism.

National pride and national honor are the political equivalents of that philological self-consciousness. They are the trade marks of the national products of chauvinism, militarism and economic imperialism. Changing the metaphor—peep under the lid of national pride and you will discover a Pandora's box of mischief-wreaking marionettes.

A SUPPORTER OF IMPERIALISM

Every national State is a Power, great or small. Each Power is the heir of the mercantile theory of the sixteenth century, which means that the interests of the great *entrepreneurs*, i. e., the industrialists and the great traders, are indissolubly bound up with those of the State. At the same time each Power admits the claims of popular sovereignty in one fashion or another. This means that the voice of the people, when it is raised to high Heaven in defense of national interests, is also raised in defense of great traders and industrialists. Everybody knows that this clamor of voices does not displease "the upper middle classes," and not solely because those voices are wafted into the empyrean to fill its celestial voids.

The population that comprises each national State is agreed on certain specific points of policy: within its territorial limits, obedience, loyalty and whole-hearted participation in the national "will"; outside those limits, the firm and steadfast affirmation of national rights and interests. If we

were a nation of logicians there should be some incongruity in our waxing indignant and warlike whenever any other nation intimates mildly or otherwise that it, too, has interests to maintain.

Legitimate interest in cotton-growing, oil-producing countries which have not progressed beyond the stage of agricultural societies cannot be denied the Great Powers. The world does need oil and rubber and cotton, and middlemen the world over do exercise enormous pressure upon their Governments to step in and get their quotas. Whether they speak in terms of common humanity (as if they held a mandate from some central board that represented the entire universe) or in terms of national benefits (as if the man on the street shared in their gains), they speak loudly, continuously and successfully. Great Britain's interests in China are purely commercial and the United States' interests in Nicaragua financial, and the marines stationed in those two countries defend the privileges of private owners. But let a marine be killed or a financial agent mobbed, and what a cry arises of shattered prestige, insult to the flag, necessity for reprisals. The ordinary individual does not feel the less outraged if you tell him that he himself has lost nothing, that his nation still conducts its business as usual, and that murders have been known to occur even on the sidewalks of New York. You may reason all day to no avail, for his convictions arise from belief. The economic interests, the financial and the military interests that batten upon militarism and imperialism know it, and use the emotional springs of nationalism to catapult the nation into profitable wars.

There is the great menace of nationalism. Political machinery like a League of Nations or some other association of Powers will, with time and educational propaganda, take care of purely political disputes among nations. But the economic rivalries will remain. Militarism and chauvinism may decrease, but so long as Tunisia and Syria, for instance, remain defenseless against the greed of other nations, war will result. The way to peace, however, does not lie in turning away from the political State, as has been proposed by advanced economic historians. The political State and nationalism are here to stay, at least for longer than our span of life and our children's. The way to peace lies in substituting some emotional loyalty, grounded upon the common economic interests of mankind, for the spirit of nationalism.

A Defense of Democracy

By V. F. CALVERTON

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WHEN Alexander Hamilton, in a moment of explosive despair, contended that "there is something in our climate which belittles every animal, human or brute," he made a reflection upon America that in recent generations has become an international platitude. It was democracy that Hamilton detested. This man, who was reputed to be of mulatto descent, and whom Adams had sneered at as "the bastard brat of a Scotch peddler," was, in the words of Morris, "in principle opposed to republican and attached to monarchical government," and in the habit of scoffing at democratic institutions as crippled and ineffectual. Hamilton's attitude was embodied in diluted form in the Constitution, which limited suffrage to a small percentage of the population.

Since Hamilton, criticisms of democracy have been numerous. America has become the centre of these criticisms. In 1832 Mrs. Trollope, in her very charming account of her travels in this country, a volume entitled *The Domestic Manners of the Americans*, satirized American democracy in an endeavor "to show how greatly the advantage is on the side of those who are governed by the few instead of the many." From Basil Hall's *Travels in North America*, which caused a moral earthquake in the States in the early part of the last century, to the caustic comments of Lecky, the bitter strictures of Steffens, Tarbell and Sinclair, and the recent diatribe of Mr. Mencken, who in his *Notes on Democracy* maintains that the democratic idea "is incomparably idiotic and hence incomparably amusing," the fusillade of attacks has been unceasing.

In the excitement of attack, exaggeration and prejudice have ruled. The failure of certain forms of democracy has driven critics to the extreme limit of the absurd. With no analysis of fundamental principles, the democratic concept is to be replaced by the aristocratic. William MacDougall, in his study—*Is America Safe for Democracy?*—attacks the influx of inferior types into our nation. The fact that these types propagate more rapidly than the purer, that is, the older, the more Nordic, as the racialists contend, arouses him to a philippic against democracy. In the present stratification of

social classes, in which differentiation and distinction are determined by wealth, MacDougall, rationalizing his prejudice into a philosophy, discovers a "positive correlation" on the basis of the "natural stratification of innate abilities." (J. B. Eggen, "Rationalization and Eugenics," *The Modern Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3, page 231.) Thus democracy is repudiated by its manifestly undemocratic effects. Hankins (*Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1923, pages 388-412), advancing another step, suggests the establishment of "permanent stratified social classes," with liberty and privilege varying according to inherited capacity. This would be the utopia of a eugenic society. Classes would be restrictive, if not rigid; continuous, if not unchanging. Ireland even maintains the expediency of consanguineous marriages in order to perpetuate favorable traits and facilitate the transmission of advantageous types. In each of these attitudes the concept of democracy is twisted into nothing more than a political affectation, a formula without substance.

These fantastic and pseudo-scientific flights away from democratic principle spring from convictions born of frustrated aspiration and disillusionment. The contempt for democratic forms manifest in such divergent personalities as Augustine, Vico and the American theocrats of whom Cotton Mather was an exemplar, was an outgrowth of a different social philosophy than that embodied in the attacks of the nineteenth and twentieth century critics. It was in the rise and revolt of the bourgeoisie, which occurred first in England and later reached a startling climax in the red radiance of the French Revolution, that the logic of modern democracy received its birth and inspiration. In England John Locke early became its political philosopher, but its later advance was charged with new defiance and challenge by Paine and Wollstonecraft. Godwin's *Political Justice*, though opposed to private property, gave an impetus to the democratic concept. It was in the utilitarian school, however, that democratic theory, in its political form, attained its philosophic justification. The criterion, "the greatest good for the greatest number," became a clarion call and challenge. In the environmental logic of Helvetius, who

maintained that "education is not the same for any," and in the revolutionary propositions advanced by Condorcet in *The Sketch of Human Progress*, the same attitude is revealed. The old aristocratic psychology had become effete. This psychology and philosophy, which had preserved the stations in life and art, defended the theory of innate ideas, the superiority of the ruling class, the aristocratic conception of tragedy, and elevated birth above merit, class above achievement, were now repudiated. In the words of John Stuart Mill, who was one of the most profound of the utilitarians—"of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences"—we find a scientific attack upon the old conception.

— The theory of democracy is based potentially, if not immediately, upon equality. Romantic spirits like the eighteenth century enthusiasts thought this equality easy of attainment. The later exponents of the democratic idea, however, have adopted a view based on a more protracted period. The nature of the theory itself, it must be noted, precludes the introduction of hereditary prerogative or class distinction. Its pivot is the populace. Its faith is in the commoner. The old conception, which had matured into philosophic doctrine during the days of feudalism and royal absolutism, scorned the commoner and exalted the aristocrat. The new conception perceives social and intellectual difference in terms of circumstance and environment. Opportunity and education are the fundamentals of the new faith. Modern democracy, as I have stated, grew out of the evolution of a new economics. In the open field of competition, the new idealists argued, genuine democracy would obtain, industry would meet reward and sloth deprivation, genius would rise and incompetency sink. In the downfall of kings and the rise of the masses, Paine visioned a millennium. In the disappearance of inherited privilege and the advance of political suffrage, the utilitarians foresaw the realization of "the greatest good for the greatest number."

It was with such hopes that modern democracy was born. It was in the flame of this great enthusiasm that the early Wordsworth declared himself "of that odious class of men called democrats," and added that "of that class I shall forever continue." It was this same enthusiasm that moved Cowper to write of the era of the French

Revolution as "a wonderful period in the history of mankind," inspired Burns in his beautifully dynamic way to send guns from a captured smuggling vessel to the convention at Paris, and drove Blake to his furious denunciations of soldier and king.

And out of this flash and fanfare of zeal and aspiration, what has grown? What has crystallized? What has become the new heritage? The spirit of the present age is the answer. The disillusionment that has followed the World War, which was waged in the name of *democracy*, is only part of the general reaction. The derision that is to be discovered in Mr. Mencken's *Notes on Democracy* is common instead of singular. Democracy is everywhere attacked, scorned, ridiculed. In the nineteenth century, when blind eulogists like Bancroft visualized democracy as utopia, Maine led the assault. In the works of Lecky, Faguet, Cram, Mallock, Stephen, Nietzsche, Le Bon, Treitschke, Carlyle, Ludovici, Michels, the democratic conception is assailed with not less vigor than in the recent emotional extravaganzas of Lothrop Lee Stoddard, Madison Grant and William MacDougall.

What is the essence of their criticism? Lecky's argument that the rule of democracy means the rule of ignorance (*Democracy and Liberty*), is similar to the contention of Maine, that intelligence is possessed by the few and not the many. (*Popular Government*.) Faguet extends the implication of this attitude by charging democracy with incompetence. (*The Cult of Incompetence*, page 17.) That country, writes Faguet, "stands highest in the scale, where the division of labor is greatest, where specialization is most definite and where the distribution of functions according to efficiency is most carried out." Democracy, he maintains, defeats and frustrates specialization and thus impedes national growth and expansion. The democratic principle produces government by mediocrity. "Rudeness is democratic" is one of his characteristic expressions. Faguet's conception of a society ruled by the aristocracy of talent is certainly less reactionary, however, than Ludovici's classification of democracy with decay and aristocracy with growth. (*A Defense of Aristocracy*.) Ralph Adams Cram is scarcely less dismal. In his words democracy reduces "all mankind to a dead level of incapacity." (*The Nemesis of Mediocrity*.) Ireland contends that only government removed from the masses is successful. Le Bon's attack upon democratic institutions is based upon his beliefs that progress is possible only as a function of aris-

tocracy. It is absurd, in the opinion of Le Bon, to expect intelligence from the mass. Michels' argument against democracy is concerned with a formal contradiction. Democracy implies organization, and yet organization destroys spontaneity and introduces institutionalism. Oligarchy ensues. In this contradiction Michels sees the inevitable failure of the democratic idea. In all these criticisms, in brief, it is the theory of equality, either potential or kinetic, which is at the root of the democratic conception, that is attacked.

The fundamental conflict over democracy, therefore, is not in the matter of form, but rather in that of substance. It is two antithetical attitudes toward life and the world that clash. The one is marked by a faith in select groups, classes or individuals as the only source of social advance; the other is a faith in the multitude or the mass as a possible, if not immediate source of social progress and control. The one attitude, the anti-democratic, is an outgrowth of the old psychology of feudal rank and aristocratic station, which, though changed in form in recent centuries, still retains its original justification. Certain groups or classes have inherited finer blood than others, and thus are innately and permanently superior. It is the past and not the present that determines. It is rather what one is, and not what environment gives one, that is the ultimate cause of success or failure. In simple words, antecedent and not advantage decide the future. Whether the superiority is justified by ancestral lineage or eugenic selection, the basis of the attitude is similar and unaltered.

AN ENVIRONMENTAL PHILOSOPHY

The democratic attitude is an outgrowth of the opposite position. All differences, all distinctions are fundamentally, if not immediately, the result of cultural and not biological origin. Heredity is the product of environment, and therefore modifiable by it. Intelligence is an effect of conditions and not of inborn talent. If the masses are incompetent, it is because the conditions of their life are destructive. If progress in the past has been the work of the aristocracy, it is because the aristocracy has been favored with opportunity and circumstance. In short, man is the product of his environment. Democracy is an environmental philosophy. Eugenic superiorities are pure evasion. They are the device of aristocratic rationalization. Despite the scientific nature of the dispute, in the attacks upon the eugenicists by Watson, who declares that

"there is no such thing as an inheritance of capacity, talent, temperament, mental constitution and characteristics," and by Bernard, Kantor, Josey, Kuo, Kempf, Child, Eggen and Jennings, the clash between the aristocratic and democratic attitude can be discovered in rich and illuminating detail. The democratic attitude cannot develop within an aristocratic hypothesis. The two are incompatible. Yet it should be added, by way of clarification, that the democratic theory does not deny the inheritance of physical characteristics or the existence of heredity as a natural phenomenon. It denies emphasis to it. It denies its inalterability. Just as axolotls develop a new set of inherited characteristics in a new environment (Jennings, *Prometheus*, pages 45, 46, 47), man develops a new set of inherited characteristics, if such they must be termed, in a changed environment. The idea that heredity is "all-powerful (and) environment is almost powerless," writes Jennings, one of the leading biologists in America, "(is) a vicious fallacy, not supported by the results of investigation . . . an assertion empty and idle." (*Ibid.*) Simply expressed, then, the conflict of the two attitudes resolves itself into the question of the fixity or changeability of forms. The aristocratic attitude defends the concept of eugenic equations, with an attempt to minimize if not deny the power of environment; the democratic attitude adopts the concept of changeability, denies the predominance of heredity and emphasizes the determining influence of environment. In these attitudes we find the expression of social groups and economic motivations. The conflict over democracy, then, is not a conflict of personal opinions, but of social and economic philosophies. The bourgeoisie, or the merchant class, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries advocated democracy, today either repudiates it as a fact or obscures it as fiction, while the proletariat accepts it as a reality and develops it as a doctrine.

The criticisms of democracy as a concrete manifestation instead of as an abstract conception are based upon an obvious fallacy. They derive from the old notion of democracy that grew out of the political ideals of the eighteenth century theoreticians and the nineteenth century utilitarians. Bryce's attack upon the money interests because of their power to corrupt administration, and on the tendency of politics to become a trade and politicians to become an evil (*Modern Democracies*); Ostro-gorski's onslaughts upon political parties as

the source of social disintegration (*Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*), and the score of other strictures upon the organization of modern democracy are all justifiable as attacks upon democracy as a political form, but not upon a democracy as a philosophic conception. It is this fact which is seldom, if ever, realized. The modern literature of anti-democratic character fails utterly to grasp this underlying distinction. The inadequacies of political democracy are seized upon as a basis for an attack upon democracy as a social theory. As a result, a manifestation is misunderstood for an essential, a phase is misinterpreted for a whole.

No attack upon democracy as a social theory can be made until democracy has been put into economic application. The very basis of opportunity in the modern world is economic. Political democracy, therefore, without economic democracy, is an impotent gesture. With the eighteenth century *sansculottes*, political suffrage was the sesame to Utopia. It was an age when *laissez-faire* was an inspiration to philosopher as well as economist; the possession of private property was still a virtue; the machine age was still in the embryo; the vote seemed sufficient. The development in economic technique and accumulation of wealth, however, upset this whole conception. *Laissez-faire* has become an anachronism; wealth has become centralized instead of disseminated; politics has fallen into the control of economic interests; political democracy gives little opportunity to the commoner; the old individualism is dead; power is vested in the moneyed groups; the advance of the populace is fettered by an industrial system that makes of the worker a wage slave instead of a free man; the leading political parties express the ideas of the ruling groups; candidates and votes are controlled by the technique of an industrial autocracy. All this has resulted from that vast and sweeping contradiction which has grown out of the theory that political suffrage is the secret of social control. It is testimony to the evil that flows from a one-sided application of a many-sided conception.

NEED OF ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The democratic conception must dissolve the contradiction between politics and economics. The basis of our modern world is economic. The basis of modern wars is economic. Without economic application the democratic concept is transformed into an autocratic reality. Voting for an ab-

stract political candidate is a romantic vestige of an early tradition. In its place must come the vote for a specific economic candidate by the economic workers involved. The shoemaker must vote not for the president of the lawyers' association or the chairman of a governing senate, but for the shoemaker who is to be his democratic representative. In the latter choice, his economic relationship is preserved and protected; in the former it is merely a pawn.

This application of the democratic concept was not foreseen by the enthusiasts of earlier generations. To them economic equality seemed to flow from political suffrage. It is clear, however, from the experience of the last hundred years, that economic equality can spring only from a political system that is governed by its economic units. Modern life is too complex for man to be competent in all occupations and proficient in every technique. Men build up associations, relationships and competency in their one occupation, and develop technique, to an extent, in proportion to their experience. An expert machinist, who may be utterly incapable of deciding whether Coolidge or Davis would make a worse President, would be excellently qualified to determine the capacity of respective machinists to represent the industrial needs of their trade. This does not mean that errors in choice can thus be entirely avoided. It simply means that, by any law of mathematical ratio, the machinist would be more capable of evaluating machinists than he would educators, the carpenter more capable of evaluating carpenters than he would lawyers, the journalist more capable of evaluating journalists than he would engineers. This is incontrovertible logic. It insures the highest efficiency for representative administration.

This type of representative administration necessitates a new type of economic order. It abrogates private ownership of industry, and institutes democratic control of the means of production and distribution. Its units are economic instead of political, industrial instead of geographical. In simple words, the sovereign body of the nation would be composed of representatives of economic and social groups, the trades and professions; economic equality necessary to democratic practice would be assured. Only in this way can the economic aspect of democratic relationships be achieved; only in this way can democracy be tried and tested; only in this way can democracy open the gates leading into a new world.

The Production of More Powerful X-Rays

By WATSON DAVIS

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NO chapter in science has been more thrilling and interesting than the discovery, generation and utilization of those short wave-length radiations that at present lie at one end of the spectrum of electro-magnetic waves. Since the days of Roentgen and the Curies only a little more than a quarter of a century has passed. Yet remarkable progress has come from physical laboratories, though many mysteries remain. Radium continues to disintegrate at an unvarying rate, and human intellect and hand are ineffective in controlling the production of the powerful products of this transmutation of one element into others. The X-rays, unlike radium rays, are produced at the will of the physicist. Because of their controllability and their unique properties, it was not long before they were engaged in all sorts of useful work in medical, metallurgical and other laboratories. One difficulty preventing the production of X-rays approaching in power the rays of radium has been the unwillingness of X-ray tubes to operate at voltages much higher than 250,000. This barrier has now been removed by Dr. William D. Coolidge, the inventor of the type of X-ray tube now in general use, so that production of artificial rays of radium is the probable result of the latest achievement of this General Electric Company physicist. Radium gives off three kinds of rays: (1) Gamma rays, which are similar to X-rays, but of shorter wave length; (2) Beta rays, or speeding electrons, which are similar to the cathode rays which Dr. Coolidge successfully produced outside of the generating tube about two years ago; (3) Alpha rays, which are rapidly moving atoms of helium. The gamma and beta rays are those that are most effective, and it is these radiations that the new form of Coolidge cathode ray tube will produce artificially. By feeding the radiation from one 250,000-volt tube into another and then further cascading the output of the second tube into a third, Dr. Coolidge has raised the effective voltage of this battery of tubes in series to 900,000 volts. This

arrangement gives a stream of cathode rays or speeding electrons which approach in velocity the beta rays. Thus one important part of radium radiation is practically duplicated. Then when cathode rays are made to strike a solid metal "target" X-rays are given off. With the increase of voltages these X-rays will take upon themselves the hardness and other properties of gamma rays, thus duplicating another portion of the radium radiation.

While the possibility of duplicating the radium radiation is exciting enough in itself, there is no reason why it will not be possible soon to surpass the power of radium. Let Dr. Coolidge explain in his own words what he visualizes: "It has tantalized us for years to think that we could not produce in the laboratory just as high speed electrons as the highest velocity beta rays of radium and just as penetrating radiations as the shortest wave-length gamma rays from radium. According to Sir Ernest Rutherford we need only a little more than twice the voltage which we have already employed to produce X-rays as penetrating as the most penetrating gamma rays from radium and 3,000,000 volts to produce as high speed beta ray. The intensity factor would be tremendously in our favor, as with twelve milliamperes of current we would have as many high-speed electrons coming from the tube as from a ton of radium (worth \$56,000,000,000 at present prices). Another factor in our favor would be the control which we would have of the output. This would be quite different from our position with respect to radium, in which case no physical or chemical agency at our command in any way affects either the quality or the quantity of the output. What shall we do with the high-speed particles obtainable from tubes operating at a potential difference of millions of volts? The lure, of course, lies in the fact that we cannot answer the question beyond saying that we shall experiment with them. They should eventually help us to further knowledge of the atomic nucleus and to further knowledge of radiation laws.

It is furthermore not unlikely that therapeutic, chemical, bactericidal or other practical uses will develop."

THE TELEVOX

While new and powerful scientific tools are thus being devised, other scientists are working upon the problems of easier control of such power and forces as are now commercially available. For years the snap of any electric switch has loosened the power of a thousand horses. More gentle and more skillful work has now come within the realm of mechanical control. A few turns of copper wire around an iron core is able, in many places, to do the work of a man! A "mechanical man" with such a "brain" can unveil a portrait, for instance, on order of a telephoned signal.

The televox, as the device is called, depends upon a device that responds to a sound of certain frequency, but not to another. Stand in front of a piano, put your foot on the loud pedal, and whistle a note. Then stop whistling and you will hear the piano continue to emit the same note. This is because the sound waves of your whistle set in vibration the piano string tuned to that particular note. Other strings tuned to other notes or to air waves vibrating at a different rate fail to respond, just as a radio set will not bring in a broadcasting station unless it is tuned to waves of the proper frequency. With the televox, the receiving apparatus is tuned to a particular frequency of sound. A musical note, either from a tuning fork or a whistle, is telephoned to it. A relay, which is simply an electromagnet with a movable armature arranged to come against it when the current flows through the coils of the magnet operates when the proper note is sounded. This in turn may start a motor, turn on or off a light, or do any one of a number of mechanical operations. By having several units of the apparatus, each with its relay, a complicated performance may be gone through by sending a series of different notes. These may, if one wishes, be so adjusted that the notes form a tune. So far this particular device has only been used with land telephone lines, but it could be easily adapted to radio.

Experiments have been made for many years with radio-controlled automobiles and other machinery, but in many cases these devices used several radio wave lengths instead of different sounds, each performing a certain task. Entirely automatic operation has in many instances made it possible to dispense with the human ele-

ment completely. For instance, lights on buoys and lighthouses have been operated with a selenium cell, with which light regulates the flow of an electric current. As soon as darkness comes, the light is turned on; when daylight breaks, the light goes off. Another form of automatic control has been used in electrical sub-stations, where formerly it was necessary to keep an operator in constant attendance. Electric current comes over the lines from the power plant to the sub-station, from which it is redistributed, perhaps at a lower voltage, to the users. When the load is heavy certain transformers may have to be turned on, while different ones would be required when so much current is not needed. In such cases relays can be used, so adjusted that when the load reaches a certain point the necessary switches are closed, while they are turned off when the load is lightened.

ELECTRICITY FROM THE AIR

The electricity in the air has always been a lure to those inventors who, like most of the rest of us, desire to get something for nothing. Some publicity has been given recently to devices for tapping this supposed store of energy. Benjamin Franklin is credited with making the first "motor" to be driven by atmospheric electricity, and since his time hundreds have attempted to make practical such a development. But scientists are convinced that it is impractical to obtain more than a minute amount of power from such devices. Researches by the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution of Washington have shown that if a collecting antenna for the atmospheric electricity covered the whole State of Wisconsin only about one ampère of current would flow at the dangerously high potential of 20,000 volts, and in terms of ordinary electric power this output would be worth only about \$1 an hour. Such antenna, the height of that of the Arlington, Va., Government radio station, but covering the entire earth, would collect only enough electricity to cause a steady current of not more than 1,000 amperes to flow from the antenna to the earth. Often when thunderstorms are hovering near or passing over a place tremendous electric currents flow to and from the earth for a small fraction of a second, and during sandstorms and under certain other circumstances considerable quantities of electricity may be collected by radio antennae.

Some of the most efficient atmospheric

electricity motors thus far invented are scientific instruments called "electrometers." They have been in constant operation for several years at the observatories of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, at Washington, D. C.; near Huancayo, Peru, and near Watheroo, Western Australia. These are quite different from the ordinary electric motor. On the basis of the amount of work they do they may be considered mere toys. These electrometers are, however, motors in reality and in principle, and any motor driven by the electricity of the air will doubtless work on the same principle. Automatic records are being made at a large number of observatories in various parts of the world with such electrometers to show continuously the electrical features of the earth's atmosphere. From such records, extending over many years, Carnegie Institution officials declare that enough is known to justify the opinion that motors operating from the electricity of the air will probably never be more than either interesting toys or scientific instruments.

GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTING

Hidden riches within the earth have always attracted prospectors, and since the orthodox methods of digging are arduous and costly, miners have been willing to believe those who pretend to have the ability to locate by mysterious means the mineral deposits that they sought. As if in fulfillment of the wishes of his less scientific and more credulous predecessors the geologist of today is probing into the depths of the earth without the use of a pick or a drill. He is now determining the location of valuable oil and minerals through the use of instruments and methods that up until a few years ago were not known outside of scientific laboratories. Gullible miners and landowners have been fooled and humbugged in past years by unscientific diviners who declared they could locate hidden oil, coal and minerals by rods or devices that they held in their hands. Farmers have hired these rural mystics to determine where to dig wells. Such methods of prospecting have been discredited. Through the use of the principles of physics, however, the geologist has realized the wishful notions of the imposters and now by an array of complicated instruments can advise the mining engineer where it is best to drill or dig for oil or metal.

Prospecting by geophysical methods is possible because the rocks and other deposits in the earth have different physical

properties which can be detected by suitable apparatus at the surface. Geophysical prospecting is now possible practically by gravimetric, magnetic, seismic and electric methods. Masses of light or heavy materials within the earth affect the gravitation of the earth near by and can be detected with a pendulum or gravity balance like the Eotvos torsion balance. Such information about internal structure aids the geologist, for example, to determine where to drill for oil. Various kinds of rocks have different degrees of magnetization and consequently vary the magnitude and direction of the earth's magnetic field. Refined forms of the compass and similar instruments allow the geologist to measure any magnetic irregularities and speculate upon the cause. Artificial earthquakes can be caused by small explosions and recorded on seismographs in order to determine the difference in elasticity of the underlying rocks. This information gives clues to mineral deposits and formations in some instances. Electric currents passed through the earth sometimes give valuable information, since different kinds of rocks have different conductivities. Other methods not yet in wide practical application include radioactivity measurements, transmission of radio waves, temperature records and measurement of natural earth currents.

NOVA PICTORIS

Occasionally astronomers report to an interested world the explosion of a star. Those who people a satellite of a star may well be interested in such an event, although we are assured that the probability of our sun acting in such a manner is remote. In the Spring of 1925 a South African amateur astronomer discovered a "new star," or nova, as astronomers term a star explosion. Now Nova Pictoris, as this star was called from the constellation in which it happened to be, is particularly interesting because it is changing into a nebula. This is the reverse of the usual process of stellar evolution. This unconventional behavior of Nova Pictoris was discovered by Dr. J. S. Paraskevopoulos, in charge of the branch station of the Harvard College Observatory at Bloemfontein, South Africa. The evolution of stars is generally thought to be in the direction from nebula to star, but in this instance, and in two or three others, the transformation is in the opposite direction and, astronomically speaking, is very rapid. All these reversed cases are associated with the so-called new stars. A ring or shell of nebulous matter appeared

around the outer edges of the image of the star and gradually grew larger and more distinct. The phenomenon indicates that the outburst of the nova, with its rapid increase three years ago to ten thousand times its former brightness, was actually an explosion of the star, which blew its outer parts away from the nucleus. The ring of nebulosity now observed is the former outer portion receding with a velocity of several hundred miles a second. Future observations will show whether the explosive transformation will result in one of the permanent and typical "planetary" nebulae, of which a hundred or so are known among the stars, or whether the receding atmospheres will gradually dissipate into space, leaving the nucleus as a typical star.

REDUCED DEATH RATE

The healthiest year in American history was 1927. Only 8.4 deaths for every 1,000 persons occurred in a group of insured wage-workers that numbers one-seventh of the total population of the United States and Canada. If the death rate of 1926 had prevailed, 8,808 persons among the insured group now living would have died, and if the rest of the population had improved its health as much, some 50,000 lives would have been saved. If the death rate of sixteen years ago, 1911, had not been reduced 33 per cent. to the present figure, last year's death list would have numbered 72,570 more among the insured group. These facts are shown by the statistics of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company reporting the mortality of its industrial policyholders, which has been found to reflect the trends of the whole population. The outstanding health fact of 1927 was the big drop in the tuberculosis mortality, the rate of 93.5 per 100,000 representing a decrease of 4.8 per cent. from the previous minimum of deaths from this disease. Recent surveys have shown that this reduction applies to all parts of the country, rural and urban, colored and white, and extends to all occupations and branches of industry. Three of the diseases of childhood—measles, scarlet fever and whooping cough—had encouragingly low death rates, while influenza and pneumonia reached unexpectedly low records. Never, except in the years immediately following the great influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919, has there been as big a drop in the number of deaths from these much-dreaded diseases. To counterbalance these gratifying returns the toll of cancer was higher than ever before, and

that of diabetes remained the same as the previous year in spite of the increasing use of insulin. This, however, is no ground for drawing the conclusion that insulin is ineffective. Statisticians declare that the average age of diabetics at death has increased and that without insulin the diabetes death rate would undoubtedly run even higher than it now is. The automobile continued its guilty rôle in 1927 as the principal cause of fatal accidents. Almost as many wage-earners' children lost their lives in 1927, it was pointed out, from automobile accidents as from measles, scarlet fever and whooping cough combined, while the number of motor car fatalities as a whole was double that of ten years ago.

AUTOMOBILE SPEED RECORD

A racing car created to achieve the highest possible short spurt of speed flashed along the sands of Daytona Beach, Fla., and smashed the world's automobile speed record of 203.8 miles an hour, established last year by Major H. O. D. Segrave in a British-made Sunbeam car. It was Captain Malcolm Campbell in his famous British racing car, Blue Bird, which achieved the average speed of 206.9 miles an hour over measured mile courses, with and against the wind. His American rival, a special Stutz, designed by F. E. Moskovich and piloted by Captain Frank Lockhart, was wrecked during an attempt to better this performance. The Blue Bird is powered with the same type of Napier engines that were used in British airplanes that last year won the Schneider Trophy race in Italy and set the world's air speed record of 281.7 miles an hour. The front of Captain Campbell's car is carefully streamlined and its nose is suggestive of a whale. Detachable wings on its tail, intended to prevent skidding, give it the appearance of being about half airplane, while the radiators are placed on each side of the stern, instead of in front. Airplane development contributed to the design of the Blue Bird. A unique feature of the American car was that it was cooled with ice, eliminating the radiator entirely. Engineers estimated that this saved about 60 horse-power that would be used in the cooling apparatus. Since the runs were very short, only about four or five minutes, it was possible to utilize a cooling method that would be impractical in an ordinary automobile. Elimination of the radiator reduces the wind resistance greatly and allows the nose of the car to be hermetically sealed.

Lindbergh's Historic Central American Flight

By RUSSELL OWEN

STAFF CORRESPONDENT, *The New York Times*

ALTHOUGH it seemed as if there were no more great flights to be made after the transatlantic flights of last year there have been three which ended recently which should go down in aviation history. The most important of these, at least to the United States, was the remarkable flight of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh to Mexico, Central and South America and the islands of the Caribbean. Flying over mountains and jungle, over fog and through hundreds of miles of mist and rain, Lindbergh showed again his mastery of the air, and proved again that as an ambassador of good-will he has no equal in the world. Lindbergh is Lindbergh to all people, whatever their speech or race, and his effect upon them is the same—an uplifting of the spirit which approaches a religious revival.

But close behind his accomplishment, and perhaps overshadowing his last flight as a feat of aviation, has been the unbroken success of Costes and Lebriz, the French pilots who spanned the South Atlantic in one hop, cruised up the South American coast through miserable weather that would have wrecked a plane in less able hands, and finally came on to New York. Gay and debonair, skillful and exact in their flight, these two sons of France have made a record which has had less recognition than it deserves. And equally as brilliant was the flight of the English pilot, Bert Hinkler, in his tiny Avro, with a low horsepower motor from England to Australia in a series of long hops which were sometimes more than 1,000 miles.

Each of these flights had a different purpose, was accomplished in a different type of machine. Lindbergh and Hinkler flew alone, but whereas Lindbergh had his faithful Spirit of St. Louis with the same 200-horsepower Wright Whirlwind which carried him to Paris, Hinkler flew a tiny open cockpit plane with a motor of less than 80 horsepower. Hinkler is a master pilot, one of the best in the world. Costes and Lebriz, on the other hand, flew a much larger plane, a huge two-place all metal Breguet, powered with a 600-horsepower Hispano-

Suiza engine. It was the plane in which they had wished to fly west across the North Atlantic, and balked by the weather in that attempt they went south and began a journey which, except for the Pacific, will carry them around the world to Paris.

No aviator, however, seems able to arouse the emotions of people as does Lindbergh, and his flight through Latin America was a series of overwhelming receptions which for a time, at least, effaced any feeling among our southern neighbors against the United States. Wherever he went the effect was the same—a mad, tumultuous rush of people eager to be near him, to see him, if possible to touch him. As a Mexican Senator said to the writer: "That boy has brought more happiness and joy to the world than any man who ever lived."

So surprising was the effect of Lindbergh upon the emotional peoples of the south that in no place where he landed were the authorities able to handle the crowds. No matter how much they were warned by those who had seen Lindbergh crowds, they would not believe that other than ordinary precautions were necessary. Lines of soldiers a few feet apart were no more effective in stopping the people from reaching Lindbergh than they would have been in stopping the German army going through Belgium. Gun butts and bayonets were as useless as straws, for although the gun butts were used the bayonets could not be, and people were willing to be battered a little to get nearer. Many a harassed police official or army commander wished before the day was over that he had put up barbed wire entanglements.

But the amazing thing was that in no place, except in Cuba, where court-martials nearly followed the rumpus, did the people or the soldiers emerge other than smiling from their conflict. As a matter of fact, in many places the men supposed to guard Lindbergh were as excited as the rest of the crowd.

Lindbergh's flight to Mexico was probably in his mind for many months before he went there. It was not a sudden inspiration. He wanted to do something

more for aviation and for international good-will after he returned from France. His flight around the United States was for aviation, his flight south was for his country. Mexico was his objective, because he felt, and so did Ambassador Morrow, that he could do the most good by flying there. The extension of his trip through Central and South America and back over the islands was a natural extension which was anticipated before he started, but not thoroughly developed until his first long flight to Mexico City had been made.

Destiny seems to have decided that Lindbergh must do something dramatic when the eyes of the world are watching him, whether he wishes to or not. His first leg of the flight, that to Mexico City, aroused the anxiety not only of the United States and Mexico but of Europe as well. He was lost for more than two hours, and men grown grim in the frantic politics of Mexico, where death lurks around the corner, sat silent and stern in the sun as they waited for him. And when he appeared they were wild with joy. On his flight home from Cuba the weather was so bad that he was not sighted until just before he reached St. Louis, and the fear that he had been lost cast gloom over gay Havana. Nothing could have equaled the dramatic effect of those two flights alone, and Lindbergh neither desired to get lost nor wanted bad weather. That he surmounted those obstacles and reached his objective each time without serious difficulty proved again his supreme mastery of his art.

It was an unpropitious morning when Lindbergh left Washington on his 2,000-mile flight to Mexico on Dec. 13. The field was so muddy that the plane had to be pushed to start the wheels out of the mud. Soft spots had been marked by flags so that he could avoid them. He did so with his usual skill, and said later that he was off the ground quickly and held the plane down to get speed before climbing. It was 12:26 o'clock at noon when he started, and a few minutes later he had disappeared in the cloudy sky to the south.

Lindbergh flew a perfect course until he reached Tampico. He met fog and rain and at times flew along the coast, guided by the surf line, and sometimes flew blind by instruments. He did more instrument flying on this flight than he did in crossing the Atlantic. When he reached Tampico, however, the fog was so thick that he did not get a good bearing, and having failed to plot this latter section of his course he became lost. As he told it in his own story:

When I got to Tampico I recognized the city by the oil tanks, despite the heavy curtain of fog which lay over it. I came down within fifty feet of the river. But I was unable to get beneath the fog and so I went up again and set a compass course for Mexico City.

At a thousand feet it was possible to get over the clouds and everything seemed set for an easy flight from there to the flying field. But I must have made some bad errors, for when I dived out of the clouds two and a half hours later there was not a sign of Mexico City.

It is rather amazing that the calculations by instrument flying should have been exact all night and that the course was maintained, but that when daylight came and another course was set over the clouds I got completely lost. Such, however, is the fact.

He made no effort to gloss over his mistake when he arrived. "I guess it was my fault," he said with a grin. But in those anxious hours when the sun beat down on the field, there was a scene which will never be forgotten by those who were there, and there must have been 150,000 held back by lines of soldiers under the broiling sun. As *The New York Times* reported it: "Men grew silent and plucked at the dead grass on which they sat in the early sun. Women wrapped their shawls more closely and wondered. The blue sky, with its flecked clouds, was scanned by tens of thousands of anxious eyes." And of that scene earlier in the day:

The strength of the hold which Lindbergh has on the imagination of the people could be realized very plainly as one watched the long lines of poorly-clad workers trudging through the dust of three miles to wait for hours that they might see at a distance this valiant flying man drop toward them from their hills.

Men in overalls, their serapes wrapped closely around their throats against the chill morning air, women in shawls, children kicking gaily in the dust, passed the aviation works and the grim quadrangle which echoes at times with the shots of execution. Whatever of unhappiness was in their lives was forgotten for the moment in this burst of enthusiasm over a man who to them was almost a demigod, one without fear and without reproach.

They spoke of Lindbergh with eyes that sparkled, with words that sang, and as they walked there were others who stayed awake and hoped and wondered if all were well with this man, winging his way out of the north through the night, his eyes on the dancing instruments before him, his hands steady and his nerves calm.

FETED IN MEXICO CITY

And when he came, a slim gray shape over the mountains toward Valbuena Field, a shout of exultation went up. People sprang to their feet and cheered and cried



Times Wide World Photos.

Dieudonné Costes and Joseph Lebrix, the French Aviators

and waved their arms as they talked incoherently. Even President Calles, that iron-jawed ruler of a troubled land, beamed like a boy and probably forgot for a time that he was President of Mexico. The tension relaxed, and when the plane touched the ground the lines of soldiers were swept aside despite jabs of gun butts and slashing sabres and there was a mad rush across the field. All the way into the city Lindbergh was showered with flowers. Every one in the capital who was not on the field seemed to be gathered along the streets where Lindbergh passed and his car was almost buried in flowers before he arrived at the Mexican Embassy.

For the next few days Mexico City was Lindbergh's. Ambassador Morrow and his staff, Captain Alan Winslow, himself a flier in the war who lost an arm; Allen Dawson and the military and naval aides had the biggest social job of their lives trying to keep people away from Lindbergh and arranging all the welcomes which the Government wished to offer him so that they would not conflict. He landed there on Dec. 14, at 3:35 o'clock, Washington time, twenty-seven hours after starting, and from that time until he left on Dec. 28 he was busy every moment.

He visited Xochimilco, the barbaric Venice of Mexico; attended a bullfight, which he did not particularly care for; watched the school children of Mexico drill in the stadium, went over the mountains to Cuerna-

vaca for an outing with Mexican pilots, took up President Calles, Ambassador Morrow and other Mexican and American officials, attended State dinners and receptions and so many other affairs that he had a harder time than when flying.

In the midst of this celebration Mrs. Evangeline Lindbergh, his mother, flew in from Detroit in a three-motored Ford plane, piloted by Harry Brooks, the skillful young pilot who was recently killed when his tiny plane dove into the water off the Florida coast. She went down at the urgent request of Ambassador and Mrs. Morrow to spend Christmas with her son at the Embassy, and her reception was second only to that of Lindbergh himself.

She left just after he did on the morning of Dec. 28, two weeks after he arrived from Washington. It was barely light when he took off with an escort of Mexican planes for the dangerous flight over the mountains to Guatemala, 675 miles away. And the sun was only a short distance over the mountains when Mrs. Lindbergh's plane took the air and in a quick, graceful turn headed north.

From that time on Lindbergh was flying over a country where it would have been almost impossible for him to land without crashing his plane. At times he flew over the fog with only the mountain peaks showing. As he wrote after arriving at Guatemala City:

Soon after clearing Mexico City, low-lying

fog and clouds began to appear, covering much of the land, though at the altitude at which I flew it was clear. These patches of fog continued almost the entire distance to Guatemala City, so that the land was visible only intermittently. Some of these fog areas were as much as fifty miles long.

Mountain peak volcanoes, which seem very numerous in this region, are usually visible, with a mist covering the valleys between them. Several volcanoes, both in Mexico and Guatemala, were smoking—that is, there was a slight vapor or steam arising from their cones.

HIS FLIGHT THROUGH CENTRAL AMERICA

He landed at Guatemala City at 1:40 P. M. and was welcomed there as enthusiastically as at Mexico City. As he swooped low over the field at first to look it over—"dragging it," aviators call it—the crowd thought he was going to land and broke through the lines. And when he did land they were all about the plane in a few moments. He was met by President Chacon and Arthur Geissler, the United States Minister, as well as the entire Cabinet and Diplomatic Corps. Indeed, this was his usual reception at every place.

After a strenuous day of activity, Lindbergh left Guatemala on Dec. 30 for Belize in British Honduras. He had not intended to land there because the field was so small, but as his motor was not acting well he decided to land if it were possible. Again he met fog on the way, and part of the way flew by instruments. As he came into the field those waiting were afraid he would not be able to land successfully. Lindbergh admitted later that it was the most difficult landing he had had during his entire trip, the most difficult he had ever made in the Spirit of St. Louis. But his early training stood him in good stead and he sideslipped into the narrow, swampy field and came to a stop safely. Getting out again was even more difficult, but he made it successfully with inches to spare. He had only 200 yards in which to get his plane off the ground, but he did it.

That was on the morning of Jan. 1, and in a little less than three hours he was in San Salvador. From there he went to Honduras on Jan. 3 on one of the roughest trips he ever made in a plane. In his narrative of that day he said:

The air here was extremely rough. In fact, it was the roughest I have ever seen last for a quarter of an hour. It threw the plane upward and downward with jerks on its side during the whole time. Several times it threw me up against the top of the cabin. Once my goggles, which were hanging on levers, were thrown against the top of the cabin and fell into the rear end of the

fuselage. The canteens of water were constantly thrown upward, but as they hung from a bracket, fell back into position. But the plane is not difficult to handle under these conditions and really no danger exists in them for the experienced pilot.

High over volcanoes, some extinct and some smoking, Lindbergh flew on Jan. 5 to Managua, the capital of Nicaragua. The volcanoes interested him greatly and if he had had more time he would have flown down into the craters of some of them. His visit to the city which is the headquarters of American troops fighting Sandino made a deep impression on the Nicaraguans. They called him an "eagle without claws or talons."

On Jan. 7 he flew to Costa Rica, again without incident and on schedule. One of the most remarkable things about his flights after Mexico was the way he arrived on time at all the places he visited. With the exception of a few delays, due largely to differences in time, for no clocks seem to run the same in Latin America, he was never late except at Mexico City. At Costa Rica, the most prosperous and contented of the Central American States, he was received with tremendous enthusiasm. Here Lindbergh saw a bullfight much different from the one in Mexico, for the bull's horns were blunted and the toreadors were not permitted to hurt him. The bull had all the best of it and tossed his tormentors around, to Lindbergh's great amusement.

In taking off from Costa Rica on Jan. 9 he hit a downward current of air which dropped the plane quickly for many feet, but by zooming upward quickly Lindbergh cleared telegraph wires that lay directly ahead of him and started for Panama. The field he landed on there was named after him. On Jan. 12 he flew to Colon in the Canal Zone, passing over the Canal on the way. Here he was met by the fliers who guard the Canal by air and who have their headquarters at France Field, the most southern aviation field under United States control. And here also he had his first opportunity to rest, for he wished to wait until all the arrangements had been made for his reception in Colombia and Venezuela. Originally Lindbergh had planned to fly back from Panama to Yucatan and then across the water to Cuba, but when Venezuela and Colombia asked that he come there for visits, he decided to circle the Antilles after leaving the mainland. It obviated his returning on his original route and also gave him an opportunity to make the very interesting flight over the tiny islands of the Caribbean.



Times Wide World Photos

BERT HINKLER

The airman who made a record flight from England to Australia

While he was waiting he went off into the mountains with the army fliers and was lost to the world for several days, went fishing and made many excursions to the place around Panama, where only an airman may journey comfortably. It was not until Jan. 26 that he again took up his tour, after the most enjoyable time he had had during the entire flight, for he was able to get away from the crowds which pursued him everywhere while he was in cities. He took off from France Field in the morning, escorted by army planes, and headed for Cartagena in Colombia.

FLIGHT IMPRESSIONS WRITTEN IN AIR

It was on this flight that he first began to write his articles for *The New York Times* while in the air. Until then he had either written them after landing or dictated them and then corrected them. But while on the way to Cartagena he had so little to do that he began to record his impressions of his flight, as he went along, on the back of a map. That map, a huge one of the countries around the Caribbean, was fairly covered with stories before he reached Havana. He not only wrote all over the back of it, but even on the face of

it and on the margins. He is probably the first man to write while actually piloting a plane, and as Lindbergh's plane will not fly itself, but must be controlled most of the time, because of the way the huge tank is placed, it was difficult to understand at first how he could do it.

The plane needs very little pressure on the control stick to guide it, however, and Lindbergh used to wrap his left wrist around the stick, holding the map on his right knee with his left hand and write in pencil with his right hand. Lindbergh's writing is always irregular, and the writing on the maps was not more so than usual. But spelling is not his "long suit," which is not uncommon among many better-known authors than he is, and some of the words are not what they should be. That map will be a priceless treasure in a museum some day. Incidentally, the stories he wrote himself were much better than the ones which, because of lack of time, he had to dictate, and which he then rewrote and corrected.

He noticed everything he flew over, the birds and trees and the character of the ground, even the wild animals which dashed into the bushes as he approached, or the natives who also scurried to shelter. Such strange authorship has never been known before—a lone man, flying now high, now low, looking from his cabin window at some strange scene, circling it for a better view, and then writing down his impressions, all as if he were sitting in a comfortable railroad car instead of a tiny cabin under a broad wing, kept in the air by the faithfully roaring motor, and all the time interrupting his writing to check over his instruments and make sure that all was well with his ship. Take these passages, for instance, written on the way to Cartagena:

The tropical mountains are quite different from those in the United States. Usually even the highest that I have passed over have been completely covered with a heavy, dark green foliage. Now and then a miniature river appears, apparently from nowhere, and dashes out over a precipice to fall in a curtain of mist and disappear again in the jungle several hundred feet below.

That is the observation of a man susceptible to beauty, but the aviator appears again in this passage:

I am now over the Colombia coast, along the Gulf of Darien. There are numerous small villages visible near the shore from my altitude of 1,800 feet. The country inland is hilly, but not mountainous, and there are no mountains visible on the horizon, possibly because a slight haze cuts down my visibility to about forty miles. The sky is

partly overcast with cumulus clouds at about 4,000 feet.

From Cartagena he flew to Bogota on Jan. 27, where he was welcomed deliriously by the people. He said it made him think of Paris. It took him nearly an hour to get through the crowd to the aviation building after landing. On Jan. 29 he flew from Bogota to Maracay, Venezuela, passing over mountains and then over level plains, the animals of which interested him greatly. He would circle around a water-hole where he saw some strange-looking creatures, to learn that they were peccaries. Antelopes came out of the bush and raced with his plane.

He met such a strong headwind on this trip that he very nearly had to land on the beach and pass the night. He flew wide open so as to get in on time, and after meeting fog, which confused him for a time, he managed to get into Maracay before dark. It was one of the most anxious moments he had on the entire flight.

His next hop was the longest since leaving Washington, 1,000 miles to St. Thomas's in the Virgin Islands, those tiny possessions of the United States in the Antilles. He had to fly fast to make it before dark, and he left Maracay at 6 o'clock in the morning. After the first big water jump he was generally in sight of an island.

AN INTERESTING "LOG"

On Feb. 2 he flew to Porto Rico and on Feb. 4 to Santo Domingo. One of his most interesting logs was written on this flight, for it shows the mind of the airman at work all the time. Part of it read:

Flying a modern plane under favorable conditions and off the air lines requires very little attention beyond navigating and occasionally checking over the instruments, which record accurately the condition and performance of both ship and engine. I am still far ahead of my schedule, and in order to keep from arriving too early will make a trip up to the cloud layer above.

I am now at an altitude of 1,400 feet, cruising at seventy-five miles an hour, at an engine speed of slightly over 1,300 revolutions per minute.

The oil pressure is 52 pounds, oil temperature 50 degrees Centigrade, angle of attack 2 degrees, compass heading 270 degrees magnetic, 1:29 P. M.

I am increasing the engine revolutions per minute to 1,650 and the angle of the wings is 8 degrees; air speed 75 miles per hour. It is 1:31 P. M. (Increased engine speed and wing angle was so that he might climb.)

I am at 2,100 feet, or have climbed 700 feet in two minutes. The bottom of the cloud level is still a few hundred feet above.

At 1:35 P. M. I am at 4,200 feet, slightly above the bottom of the cloud, but in an

open space. I will take up instrument navigation in a few seconds.

At 1:36 P. M. I have entered the first cloud at 4,700 feet and passed into a second clear space in a few seconds. At 1:38 P. M. I am in the clouds again, flying by bank and turn indicator at 5,800 feet.

Cumulus clouds usually have many openings between them, consequently blind flying is necessary only during short intervals.

At 1:42 P. M. I am at 7,200 feet, in a cloud, and water is streaming off the wings and struts.

At 1:43 P. M. I am at 7,600 feet. I have just come out of the clouds and am even with the top irregular layer. The sky above is clear.

In fourteen minutes I have changed from the warm air close to the ground to a quite cool climate nearly 8,000 feet above, where it is necessary to turn on the intake heater to keep up the engine temperature.

At Santo Domingo Lindbergh visited many of the famous old historic spots there, including the tomb of Christopher Columbus, one of the three places where Columbus is said to have been buried. As a new Columbus of the air, he was welcomed by the people of the island. On Feb. 6 he flew to Haiti, landing at Port au Prince, the capital. Two days later he flew to Havana, nearly 800 miles, having covered by that time 7,860 miles in 101 flying hours. This was his second longest flight since leaving Mexico City and the seventh longest made by the Spirit of St. Louis. He summed up the plane's performance in the story he wrote while flying that day:

New York to Paris, 3,610 miles, of course, was the greatest distance covered; the second, Washington to Mexico City, about 2,200 miles. Then comes San Diego to St. Louis, slightly over 1,500 miles. All three of these trips required overnight flying.

Fourth is the trip from Caracas, Venezuela, to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, about 1,000 miles. Fifth and sixth, the flights between St. Louis and New York, about 950 miles each.

The Spirit of St. Louis has, up to the taking off from Port au Prince, been in the air more than 459 hours and covered a distance of 40,000 miles in a total of 467 flights.

The original motor has never been replaced and has not as yet received a major overhauling. Neither plane nor engine have had over 5 per cent. replacements, and yet both are in excellent condition and entirely capable of continuing service for a much longer time than they have now been in use. With proper care and maintenance, the modern plane and engine should have a minimum life of 150,000 miles.

Lindbergh carried three sacks of mail with him for Havana. One of them was from Santo Domingo. They were the first mail ever carried in the plane.

His welcome at Havana was equal to that at other points on his flight. In addition

to the Cubans, who went to the field to greet him, there were thousands of Americans who either live in Cuba or were there as tourists. They lined the huge flying field on which the Cuban Government had worked for days and all night before his arrival to get in shape for his landing and for the take-off to St. Louis. He arrived a few minutes ahead of time, and after zooming up over the grandstand in his characteristic salute, went off to circle the city and let those who had not gone to the field see the plane. It was just a few minutes before he was due at Columbia Field that he landed at 3:51 o'clock.

Lindbergh was offered honors which have been given to few other men in Cuba, and the crowds which turned out to see him were the largest ever gathered in the city. After five days of receptions, dinners and luncheons and flights, on which he took up President Machado and delegates to the Pan-American Conference, he started again for St. Louis on his last long flight of the tour. He started early in the morning, while it was still dark, and from the time he passed over the Tortugas off the coast of Florida he was unreported until just before he reached St. Louis. This absence of all word from him caused great anxiety as to his safety but as usual everybody was worried except Lindbergh. The last flight was one of the most masterly of all his exploits, for the weather was wretched all of the way. He passed over the Florida keys while above the clouds, and when he struck the Florida coast it was raining. His terse account of the flight says:

In Northern Florida the clouds were so low that I was flying within a few feet of the treetops until at the Georgia line wisps of fog extended to the ground and it was frequently necessary to fly by instruments.

This condition existed over all of Georgia and Alabama. At times I had a ceiling of 200 or 300 feet, but usually the hills were fog-covered and low clouds and poor visibility existed even in the valleys.

I kept the ground in sight whenever possible, but when the fog was too dense I flew by instruments high enough to clear the hilltops until the ground appeared again through a hole in the mist. At one time I went to 7,000 feet before reaching clear sky.

Flying conditions were a little better through Tennessee and Kentucky, but as I neared St. Louis and sunset approached, it again became difficult to keep contact with the ground.

However, he landed safely after going up the river and following landmarks into Lambert Field, and the long flight was over. He was tired and said flying conditions were "abominable," but that was his

only spoken comment on weather which would have kept most pilots on the ground. The long flight was over and Lindbergh had added another chapter to his series of great accomplishments in the air and as an ambassador of good-will.

THE COSTES-LEBRIX FLIGHT

Remarkable as was Lindbergh's Latin-American flight, that of Costes and Lebrix eclipsed it as an aviation performance. These men are among the ablest of European pilots and navigators. Captain Dieu-donné Costes was a war ace with thirteen German planes to his credit, and twice won the world's long-distance record. Lieut. Commander Joseph Lebrix is a French navy flier and navigator with a record equal to Costes in his own field. They left Paris in their big Breguet on Dec. 14, 1927, and flew to St. Louis, in Senegal, Africa, 2,700 miles away, in 25 hours and 20 minutes.

Their next flight was over the South Atlantic to Port Natal, Brazil, 2,115 miles. They carried a radio and two collapsible rubber boats. They left St. Louis on Dec. 14, and 19 hours and 50 minutes later set their big plane down on the field at Port Natal. They landed late at night and the propeller tip was split by hitting a stump. They had some clouds and fog on the way over the ocean, but they hit the coast within twenty-five miles of their objective, which showed Lebrix's ability as a navigator. Lebrix, ingenious sailor, also bound the tip of the propeller with copper so they could go on.

On Oct. 16 they started for Rio de Janeiro, although the weather was so thick they had to fly within a few feet of the water and sometimes came within a wing spread of ship's masts. After making 900 miles in this weather they landed at Caravellas, and the next day went on to Rio, 465 miles away. On Oct. 19 they took off from Rio for Buenos Aires, but fogs and storms made it a most dangerous trip, and at times they could see less than fifty yards. They came down finally at Pelotas. "I would rather cross the Atlantic three times than to make that trip down the coast again," says Costes. "We wondered at times just what would become of us. As once before, we flew so low that we were on the level with ship's masts, and altogether too close to them for comfort."

The next day they went on to Buenos Aires. In all these cities and those they later visited they were ever welcomed with overwhelming enthusiasm. Even the bad weather made their flight more dramatic

and they turned this aspect of their trip to good advantage by always pointing out the safety of flying in a good airplane and extolling the advantages of their motor and their big French biplane. They made several side trips, one to Asuncion and back to Buenos Aires the same day, a flight of 1,430 miles.

On Dec. 3 they turned north again through storms to Rio, but despite the weather they made it a non-stop flight. "Weather terrible," Costes wired home. "Had to go through or drown."

Again on Dec. 12 they flew to Buenos Aires, rested six hours and then went on over the Andes to Santiago, Chile, a distance of 2,180 miles, which they made in 20 hours 38 minutes of flying time. They crossed the Andes at 20,000 feet and hit their objective squarely. Next they flew to La Paz, Bolivia, where the landing field is 13,000 feet, the highest in the world. That flight of 1,305 miles, like several others they made, had never been accomplished before. On Dec. 29 they started for Lima, Peru, and on Jan. 11 flew to Guayaquil, Ecuador. Then they flew to Panama City, where they met Lindbergh, and on Jan. 16 flew to Caracas, Venezuela. On Jan. 21 they flew to Baranquilla, Colombia, and three days later returned to Colon. On Jan. 26 they flew to Guatemala City, and on Jan. 29 flew to Mexico City. On their next hop to New Orleans on Feb. 4 they flew 1,100 miles in 10 hours and 8 minutes.

Their next stop was Montgomery, and two days later, on Feb. 8, they took off for Washington. They had been advised not to go, as there were heavy clouds, rain and fog all the way. They lost their escort of United States Army planes, most of which were forced down by the weather, but Costes and Lebriz found their way through somehow, and made a perfect landing at Bolling Field after a flight of seven hours. They were received by the President and welcomed by many Cabinet and Government officials anxious to return the courtesy which had been shown Lindbergh in Paris, as well as to congratulate the fliers on their own splendid flights. On Feb. 11 they

flew from Washington to Mitchel Field and later in the month started west to the coast, where they will put their plane on a ship for Japan and there resume their flight back to Paris. On the way west, however, they had their first serious delay since they left Paris, as they were forced down at Sharon, Pa., by storm and sleet. For once, American aviation got the better of them, for Collins, the air mail pilot, took his plane through that day to Cleveland.

But in many respects the flight of Costes and Lebriz is one of the greatest in the history of aviation, and Commander Richard E. Byrd said he believed it was second to none.

THE HINKLER FLIGHT

Hinkler's flight of 12,000 miles in sixteen days from London, England, to Port Darwin, Australia, ranks as one of the greatest single achievements in the history of aviation. Other flights have been more spectacular, and a few have been more dangerous, but no flight ever showed greater sustained courage over a long distance. He started from Croydon, England, on Feb. 7 and made the following hops in his little Avro with an air-cooled vertical Cirrus engine: Rome, 900 miles; Malta, 420; Tebrock, 650; Ramleh, 650; Basra, 800; Jask, 700; Karachi, 600; Cawnpore, 600; Calcutta, 600; Rangoon, 750; Burmah, 450; Singapore, 750; Bandoeng, 600; Bima, 850; Port Darwin, 970. His flying time was 134 hours. The *Aero Digest* says of his flight: "His flight was the longest solo flight, the longest flight in a light plane, the first non-stop flight from London to Rome, the fastest trip from England to India, and it clipped twelve days from the previous flight record between England and Australia."

What amazing things have been done in the air in the last twelve months! Lindbergh, Chamberlin and Levine, Byrd and his comrades, Brock and Schlee, Maitland and Hegenberger, Gobel, Cobham, Costes and Lebriz and Hinkler. These men and others have made aviation history and shown a little of what may be expected before the art of flying is many years older.



Results of the Pan-American Congress

By SAMUEL GUY INMAN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, AMERICAN SECTION, COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA

THE most interesting development at the Havana Conference, aside from the debate on intervention, was the way that Argentina and Mexico accepted and went far beyond the former position of the United States in regard to the Pan-American Union. Mexico came out squarely for a declaration that the Pan-American Union should never be permitted to deal with political questions, and Argentina, with equal promptness and insistence, said that she would sign no convention which did not provide that the Union should deal inclusively with the whole inter-American economic question, including tariffs. This was indeed "out-unitedstatesing" the United States. Argentina's position of 1928 was James G. Blaine's in 1889. Mexico's position at Havana was North America's in all the five previous conferences. Our Government has always been uncompromising on its position that the Union was strong and helpful just to the degree that it strengthened economic ties and eliminated political discussion. Latin America has hitherto fought against both these contentions.

Changed conditions explain changed attitudes. Forty years ago it seemed to Mr. Blaine that European trade dominance in Latin America could best be offset by getting a Customs Union for all America. But Latin America saw in this a suggestion of a "Zollverein" (a Customs Union) similar to the Prussian plan to control the other German States, and resisted it openly and at times bitterly, as a scheme for United States dominance of the southern countries. Today the United States considers itself sufficiently strong to compete successfully with Europe, and, in its strength, does not desire to enter agreement with any other nation which would limit either its right to continue its high tariff barriers or its independent political action. Argentina, on the other hand, has now developed into a place where her productions of wheat and meat rival those of the United States. When the latter raises tariff walls and rules regarding sanitary inspection, which keep out of this country Argentina's wheat and meat, she sees this as unjust and prejudicial to Pan-Americanism. If the United States wants the Pan American Union to

promote better economic interchange, very well, says Argentina. But let it do more than publish bulletins, gather statistics and promote private commercial bodies. Let it get right down to the solution of fundamental questions, such as the tariff, which are dividing the American nations. But she seemed to find no support from any other quarter for her position.

Argentina seems to regard her position as a part of the world protest against the United States claiming the right to surround itself with high protective measures which allow it to do whatever it desires, economically and politically, within its own walls, and at the same time to project its will into the life of other peoples. So her determined protest on the matters of intervention formed the other half of her policy toward Pan Americanism as registered at the Havana parley.

To understand Argentina's attitude at Havana it is well to recall certain recent events, which show that her delegates were not simply following their personal prejudices, but were impelled by a strong public opinion at home to take such a course. The feeling in the Argentine against our tariff barriers and orders of the Department of Agriculture which keep out certain of her products from the United States has been so strong that last year, when the United States proposed to send a commission to Argentina to study the costs of producing certain material, there was such popular resentment that the Government was compelled to request the United States not to send such a commission. When the United States intervened in Nicaragua a fresh reason for feeling against us was aroused. The Argentine Republic has a traditional policy of obligatory arbitration and non-intervention. Her delegation (led by the same Pueyrredon who headed the delegation at Havana) walked out of the First Assembly of the League of Nations because small nations there seemed to be overpowered by large ones. The Latin American Union, formed to unite all Latin American peoples against dominance from the outside, has its headquarters in Buenos Aires. When the "good-will" flyers from the United States landed in Buenos Aires last year they were met with an ominous silence, for at the

same time all kinds of organizations, from students to street-cleaning unions, were passing resolutions against the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua.

It is easily understandable, therefore, that the Argentine delegation, if it expected to escape overwhelming condemnation at home, must register the general national feeling on high tariffs and on intervention. Even so, considerable condemnation will be its lot, no doubt, because it did not deal more directly with actual conditions of today, instead of joining in the "conspiracy of silence" as regards Nicaragua and other matters and adhering to general principles.

PAN-AMERICAN UNION DENIED POLITICAL SCOPE

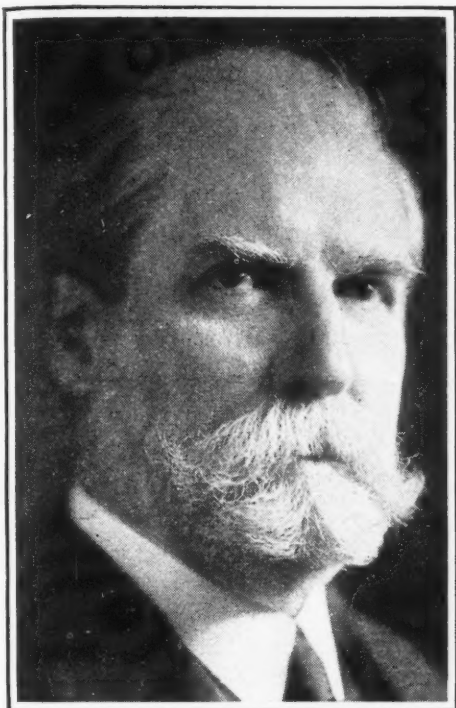
The second shifting of position at Havana, initiated by Mexico, but concurred in by a majority of the Latin-American delegates, as well as by the United States, was in denying the Pan-American Union the power to consider political questions. At the Santiago Conference in 1923 it was evident that in the minds of a large and influential part of the delegates the idea of developing an American league or enlarging the functions of the Pan-American Union was firmly fixed. Indeed, in the debates of the conference this idea was stated a number of times in so many words. There were two ways, according to the agenda of the conference, in which this league might become an accomplished fact. One was by the acceptance of Uruguay's proposal to create an entirely new organization. The other was by enlarging the Pan-American Union. In the debates on these two questions, and in the oft-repeated theme of American international law, the idea of an American league was approached again and again, in spite of the displeasure that such a suggestion brought to the United States delegation. The real meaning of the struggle was the desire of its supporters to enlarge the scope of the Pan-American Union into an inclusive international organization which would treat all inter-American questions. "*Hacia Una Liga Americana*" [Toward an American league] is the way *La Nacion* of Santiago headed its report of the proposal for a reorganization of the Union. But this movement preceded the Santiago Conference. It was at Buenos Aires that the Venezuela delegation proposed that the Pan-American commissions connected with each Ministry of Foreign Affairs should look after the interests of Pan-Americanism and have the right to propose new projects to the Union. The

object was to save the Union from becoming a bureaucratic commercial organization in Washington. It was also argued that the Union should be a kind of loose American federation, with the conferences constituting the legislative body, and the Governing Board of the Union the executive.

At Santiago this idea was still further enlarged, when Costa Rica proposed an American international court, before which American questions should be settled. This court, it was argued, would greatly promote Pan-Americanism, because it would be the means of settling many questions which, although sometimes seemingly unimportant, would, as long as they held over, greatly affect American harmony. The court, it was argued, would not conflict in any way with the World Court at The Hague, which could not be expected to have the time or the background properly to adjudicate purely inter-American questions. With the conferences representing the legislative, the Pan-American Union the executive and an American court the judicial function, a complete inter-American government would thus be in existence, even though loosely joined together.

But at Havana, whatever feeling there was concerning the necessity of developing a machinery for dealing with inter-American political questions was divorced from the Pan-American Union. The reason for this seems to be that Latin America feels that it has now tried long enough to reform the Union, so that all American nations, practically as well as theoretically, would have equal representation. But since it seemed impossible to eliminate the preponderance of the United States, it would endanger the interests of other countries to allow the Union to handle political questions. Some observers believe that the denying of such powers to the Union was a quiet way of dealing a death blow to that organization, so that some other may arise to do the work of inter-American peace which the Union had a chance to do but refused. Time alone can tell whether the United States has won a great victory by finally securing Mexico and many other Latin-American countries to stand with her in not allowing the treatment of political questions, or whether the United States has really started the downfall of the Union, since the public, once clearly understanding the narrow limitations of its work, will cease to consider it as important in working out the great international questions of today.

Dr. Olaya Herrera of Colombia, Chair-



Harris & Ewing.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Head of the United States Delegation at the Pan-American Congress at Havana

man of the conference's Committee on the Pan-American Union, and Dr. Jacobo Varela of Uruguay, the *ponente*, who had the report of the Governing Board in charge, seemed to have something of this fear. They made a valiant fight to have inserted after the prohibition the clause "unless at a future time it should be the unanimous desire of the component nations that such political questions should be treated." But Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and ten other countries voted with Mexico and the United States to defeat such a clause.

At Havana the reorganization of the Pan-American Union was one of the most important topics, as it has been at other conferences. At the last conference at Santiago the Latin-Americans fought a hard battle to get a larger place in the Union. They pointed out the preponderance of one of the twenty-one nations in the following respects: (1) Location of the seat of the Union in its capital; (2) membership of the Union confined to diplomatic representatives of twenty American countries accred-

ited to the one Government where the Union is located; (3) representation of this one Government in the Union by the Secretary of State, who, therefore, outranks diplomatically all other members; (4) permanent presidency of the Union conferred on the said Secretary of State. Add to these considerations the facts that the Director of the Pan-American Union has always been a North American, that the largest part of the literature circulated is in English, that the largest use of the Union is made by North American commercial agencies, and that the United States contributes the largest share in the financial support, and the predominance of one nation is further seen. That certain of these points are inevitable is well understood by all.

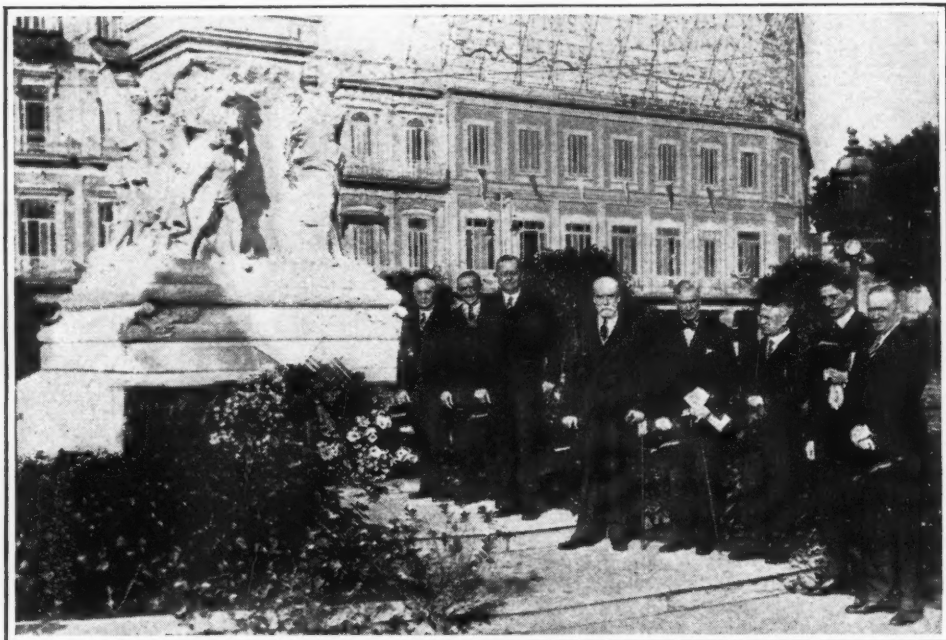
The objection turns on the requirement that each sovereign Government must name as its only representative in the Union the Minister it had named to Washington; and that if it had no Minister at Washington it could have no direct representative in



Harris & Ewing

HONORIO PUEYRREDON

Head of the Argentine Delegation at the Pan-American Congress



Times Wide World Photos.

The United States Delegation to the Sixth Pan-American Congress Placing a Wreath on the Statue of José Martí, the Apostle of Cuban Liberty, at Havana

the Pan-American Union. A further limitation in having the diplomatic representatives of these countries exercise this dual function is seen in the fact that these men would naturally be reticent in dealing with Pan-American subjects today, when tomorrow they would have to appear before the President of the same organization in his other capacity as Secretary of State to treat questions between the two individual Governments. An attitude assumed by a Minister in the Pan-American Union which was displeasing to the Secretary of State might the next day influence the Secretary to decide against the request of that Minister. A Minister can be recalled if he criticizes the Government to which he is accredited, but as a representative of an international organization it might be his duty to speak in such a way as to involve criticism of that Government.

So the Latin-American delegates wanted to have the privilege to name whomsoever they desired as their representative on the Governing Board. The United States delegation objected to this on the ground that the prestige of the Union would be seriously crippled if it were composed of other than diplomatic representatives of the various Governments, the highest representa-

tives of their countries and the ones who had direct access to their Governments in treating all international questions. It was claimed also that a double representation might at times bring division between the Ministers and the representatives of the same Governments before the Union. In the strenuous opposition of the United States delegates to the change, they stated that it would probably mean the beginning of the end of the organization.

The most the North American delegates at Santiago were allowed by Washington to concede, after much cabling, was that ordinarily the Governing Board should be composed of the diplomatic representatives of the American countries accredited to Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States, but any Government that did not have a representative at Washington might appoint a special representative; and that, in the case of temporary absence of a State's diplomatic representative from Washington, that State might appoint a special representative before the Union. The United States delegation had early accepted the amendment providing for special representation when any country was not in diplomatic relations with Washington, but it was only when the latter point was

also accepted along with the proviso that the presidency of the Union should be elective, that the Latin-Americans were satisfied enough to allow their other demands to go over till the meeting of the sixth conference.

Five years later in Havana, Mr. Hughes, however, had a change of heart. When Mexico at Havana made the same proposal that Costa Rica found so contested at Santiago, Mr. Hughes agreed as if the United States had always been most favorable to such an arrangement. He said:

Now, of course, the Latin-American republics should have entire freedom in the selection of their representatives on the board of the Pan-American Union, and I speak for my Government in saying that nothing would be more appreciated by the Government of the United States than any action which would give or conserve or promote the entire freedom of the Latin-American republics in appointing their representatives for the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union.

To this Mr. Hughes added that the United States would desire the same opportunity to appoint a special representative, and he emphasized that he

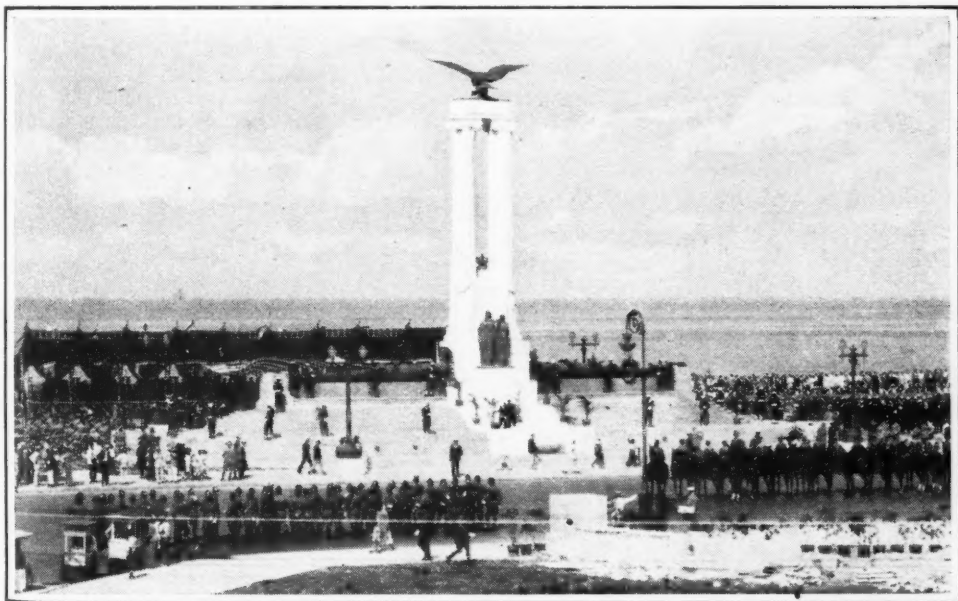
wished to take away any possible suggestion that so far as the wishes of the United States were concerned, they could stand in any way in opposition to such a reasonable

suggestion as had been made by the representatives of Mexico.

STATUS QUO VS. REFORM

The appointment of a representative of the United States other than the Secretary of State is exactly what many Latin-Americans believe should be done, if all States are to be equally represented. In the diplomatic world, where precedent is of great importance, the presence of a Minister of Foreign Affairs in a gathering where all others are mere Ambassadors or Ministers, will always mean his occupying the pre-eminence. This explains Mexico's second proposed reform, that the presidency be rotative among the various member States. This, along with a third proposal that the position of the Director of the Union be rotative among the member States, brought one of the most interesting debates of the conference.

The argument for the status quo was maintained by Dr. Varela, who has been in Washington for the last eight years as Minister of Uruguay. The argument for reform was led by Dr. Urbina, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Mexico. Urbina insisted that what was needed was to *des-diplomatizar* [a coined Spanish verb equivalent to an English verb "de-diplomatize"] the Pan-American Union, too much diplo-



Thirty Years After the Sinking of the Maine—The Ceremonies at the Base of the Monument on the Waterfront at Havana, Cuba, on the Anniversary of the Disaster Which Brought on the Spanish-American War and Led to Cuba's Independence

macy, too many diplomats, being its greatest weakness. If the Mexican delegation wished to democratize, or "de-diplomatize," the Union it was not because Mexico had come to the conference with any idea of obstruction, but was desirous of doing the most constructive work for bringing a new and larger Pan-Americanism into being. Dr. Urbina resented the insinuation of some delegates that in proposing a rotary system for the President and Director General of the Union he was criticizing the Secretary of State of the United States, or Dr. Rowe, the Director. He agreed entirely with the tributes the other delegates had paid to Mr. Hughes and Dr. Rowe, and joined heartily in them. But certainly the whole future of the Pan-American Union cannot be bound up in the life of these two great men. Dr. Varela had described Dr. Rowe as the "living archive" of the Pan-American movement, but did this mean that when Dr. Rowe passed away, as all mortals must, that the archives of the Union would die with him? We need to train other Dr. Rowses in other countries for future service. As to the presidency of the Union, he said, it is true that the position is not one of great responsibility, since the Pan-American Union does not exercise political power, and he agreed that the Secretaries of State in the past had not used the position in any unfair way. But it would have a fine effect on the public in Latin America and bring many new friends to the Union if the presidency were made rotative. To Argentina's argument that it was more democratic to elect the President of the Governing Board than to have a rotating scheme, and that it was not necessary to elect the Secretary of State, Mexico replied that as long as the United States was represented by its Minister of Foreign Affairs so long would he be elected President, the proof being that during the thirty-eight years of the life of the Union the Secretary of State had always been the Union's presiding officer.

Mr. Hughes made an eloquent appeal for harmony, reviewing his own delightful experience as President of the Governing Board, saying that he never thought of using the office for his or his country's advantage, and appealing for a spirit of mutual interest and absolute candor.

ROTATIVE SELECTION PROPOSAL DEFEATED

But Mexico was fighting a losing battle. One by one the delegates announced their opposition to the rotative system. When the vote was taken on the question of how

the presidency should be determined nineteen voted for election, one delegate was absent, leaving Mexico alone holding the bag for a scheme that would assure a President other than the Secretary of State. And yet the head of one of the delegations told the writer that in private conversation previously seven heads of delegations had told him personally they favored the rotative system. On realizing the situation, Mexico withdrew her proposal to have the Director General selected annually from a different country. Thus Mexico won two of her major points, the denying of the political realm to the Union and the free selection by member States of any one they desire, diplomat or otherwise, as the representative in the Union; she lost the two points of rotary selection of the President and Director General of the Union.

There were other minor changes in the status of the Pan-American Union, but they do not fundamentally affect the situation. What will be the result of these changes? One way of looking at it is that now that the Pan-American Union is saved from the consideration of the political questions which might disrupt it and has given the Latin-American nations more liberty in selecting their representatives, the Union will have a much brighter future. Another view is that, having definitely determined that the Pan-American Union can neither discuss political questions nor enter into the thorny consideration of tariffs, real faith in the organization as a serious effort to work out Pan-American problems has been lost, and from now on public interest, never very large outside the United States, will gradually disappear. Only the future can reveal which opinion is correct.

STORMY DEBATE ON INTERVENTION

The fundamental question in inter-American relations at present, around which most others revolve, and the one that caused the greatest interest to centre in the Havana Conference, was that of intervention.

The Pan-American Conference of Jurists, which had met in Rio de Janeiro in May, 1927, had, among its many other projects for the codification of international law, drafted and had brought to the Havana Conference a resolution embodying a declaration against intervention. This recommendation was not in the projected code, so it was not known just how it would be presented to the conference, and nearly three weeks had passed before it was suddenly brought to light. At a meeting of



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AT THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

The fox preaching the Easter sermon: "The sovereignty of small nations must be respected." (From a speech by President Coolidge.)

—De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

the Committee on Codification of International Law, held on Feb. 4, the report of Dr. Victor Maurtua of Peru raised the question, and again, on Feb. 20, in the plenary session of the conference, when it was supposed that the whole question had been shelved, it was brought up again by Dr. Gustavo Guerrero of Salvador. These were the two most dramatic sessions of the conference, where, as the Mexican delegate said, "for the first time in these meetings we have touched these profound feelings of patriotism deep down in our heart where we all live." The report of Dr. Maurtua stated that:

Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

Every nation has the right to independence in the same sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop without influence or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

Dr. Maurtua had no sooner finished his report than Mr. Hughes arose and com-

mended it in the most enthusiastic way. In an extended statement he expressed the hope that this "magna charta" of Pan-American liberties would be unanimously adopted. At this juncture Dr. Guerrero turned over the President's chair which he was occupying to the Vice Chairman, Dr. Fernandez of Brazil, and attacked the report in the most vigorous manner. He chided Dr. Maurtua for bringing something new before the conference and ignoring the Rio report, on which the official representatives of American Governments had worked for many weeks, in order to submit it to this conference. One by one various delegations arose to express their condemnation of intervention. The Cuban delegation alone defended it. Nicaragua and Haiti remained quiet. The address of Dr. Pueyrredon of Argentina was the most categorical of any in denouncing all intervention. He said:

This is the moment to formulate categorical and precise definitions. The sovereignty of States consists in their absolute right to entire autonomy within their own borders and to complete external independence. This right is guaranteed in strong nations by their strength, in weak nations by the respect to law shown by the strong. If this right is not declared and practiced in an absolute form international juridical harmony cannot exist. Intervention, diplo-

matic or armed, permanent or temporary, is an attempt against the independence of States without its being justified as a means of protection of national interests. These principles consecrated by the conquest of civilization are especially necessary in America for the happy development of the peoples who inhabit this continent. Citizens who abandon their nation in order to incorporate themselves into the sovereignty of another civilized country submit themselves to its jurisdiction and to its laws and participate in its fate. It is preferable to consecrate this principle in spite of its possible inconveniences because of the infinite good which is derived from the respect given to sovereignty of all nations.

Dr. Maurtua fought to maintain his position, arguing that there was no real difference between his report and the resolution at Rio de Janeiro. But for the only time in the conference there appeared a real unity among the great majority of the Latin-American delegates, who did not fail to show their indignation that those countries more nearly under the control of the United States should dare to desert the cause of Latin America. Some of the delegations who had come to the conference instructed to take no stand on a controversy with the United States found themselves compelled to register their vote against intervention. Once the question had assumed the form of a patriotic appeal to small nations to save their sovereignty a compromise seemed hopeless.

ISSUE DEFERRED TO NEXT CONFERENCE

A sub-committee on intervention was appointed, with Mr. Hughes as Chairman, which made many efforts to bring the two parties together, but without avail. Mexico and some others had not approved the extreme resolution presented by Santo Domingo at Rio, for they feared it would be impossible to get such a resolution approved by the United States. When the Havana Conference faced the question a number of delegations felt they ought to compromise, believing that Mr. Hughes might agree to a more liberal policy than they might expect to get from Washington in the future. Costa Rica submitted a plan to the sub-committee that would provide for cooperative action. But Argentina and Salvador held out for a flat declaration against intervention. So it was agreed that the report would simply recommend that further discussion should be referred to the seventh Pan-American Conference.

During the impressive plenary session the day before the conference adjourned, when the final report of the Committee on International Law was presented for adoption

by the conference as a whole, the Chairman of the committee, Dr. Guerrero, again brought up the question and presented a resolution condemning intervention. This caused great excitement, and an hour's adjournment was taken to allow the delegations to consult on the matter. On reassembling, Dr. Guerrero found that his resolution could not be carried with unanimity, and so withdrew it.

It may be a good thing that this discussion was precipitated at Havana, even though no agreement was reached. If the question had been frankly faced and carefully studied at the beginning of the conference, before repressions and combinations had aligned forces, it might have been possible to work out a formula for joint dealing with any situation where a country has fallen into such anarchy as could not be allowed among civilized nations. Many Latin-American delegates said privately that they favored such an arrangement. Roosevelt, Wilson, Alvarez and others have suggested it. It must be admitted, however, that at Havana there was less disposition on the part of Latin America to enter into any kind of an agreement with the United States on political matters than ever before. There was also little evidence of unity among the Latin-American nations themselves. One of the most experienced of Latin-American diplomats declared that he believed that when the United States turned down the Latin-American's desire at Santiago to enter into some kind of organization to preserve the peace in America it lost an opportunity which would not soon return. Return it must, however. For neither can Latin-American States maintain their extreme position that sovereignty is absolute, nor can the United States maintain its right to intervene when and wherever it chooses and to retire only when it alone believes it should. That the Havana Conference failed to make any progress in settling this, the most profound of all political questions on the American Continent, is to be deeply deplored.

Back of the fear of intervention demonstrated at Havana is undoubtedly the peculiar condition in which Latin-American nations were placed after the League of Nations recognized the Monroe Doctrine. The League pledges itself not to interfere in the American Continent because of this doctrine. The Secretary of State recently announced that the doctrine was unilateral and that to the United States alone belongs its interpretation and application. When the United States intervenes, therefore, it



"IT SHALL NOT PASS!"
—Cleveland Plain Dealer

can justify its action by stating that it does so because the Monroe Doctrine requires it. Nobody can question its right, because the interpretation and application of such doctrine belongs exclusively to the United States. It seems to the Latin Americans, therefore, according to this new interpretation, that they have been placed under the tutelage, plain and simple, of the United States.

ARBITRATION AGREEMENT

If no progress was made in a direct agreement on intervention various developments in the matter of arbitration may serve in its final solution. Dr. Ricardo Alfaro of Panama made an important report on arbitration, in which he suggested a variety of forms for settling international difficulties. This report came so late in the conference, just a week before final adjournment, that the only serious action that could be taken was to call a conference to meet in Washington within a year to discuss the subject thoroughly. Mr. Hughes supported a resolution introduced by Fernando Gonzales Roa of Mexico, which declared all aggressive war illegal in this hemisphere and provided that international disputes should be settled by pacific means. Dr. Roa startled the conference by alluding to the Mexican oil and land law controversy, proposing that diplomatic rep-

resentation be the furthest a Government could go in protecting life and property. "The protection of nationals abroad is a recent factor in the evolution of States," said Dr. Roa, "but it is threatening to become the cause of a long series of conflicts, which may change international co-operation into a hot contest between interests."

Mr. Hughes suggested the establishment of joint international commissions patterned on the lines of the American-Canadian Boundary Commission, by conclusion of pecuniary claims conventions and by establishing firmly the principle of arbitration, subject only to the limitation which sovereignty of countries required. To further the pacific settlement of disputes he urged periodical conferences for candid exchange of views on controversial subjects, measures of conciliation and judicial settlement.

STRIKING THE BALANCE OF RESULTS

While it is, of course, too early to interpret the conference as a whole, yet to one who watched from the side lines during six weeks the fifth conference at Santiago and again followed the meeting at Havana, changes were evident, the explanation of which is not easy. Most important of all these differences was that at Santiago the whole centre of interest was around the question of developing some kind of machinery for the settlement of inter-American questions. But at Havana the subject seemed taboo. One kept asking himself, as one sat in the placid atmosphere of the conference, which was never excited except on the two days already described when intervention was discussed: To what is the present seeming tranquillity and lack of desire for international machinery due?—Is it because the American Continent has now settled practically all its problems and needs only to work out advance in such routine questions as the status of diplomats, registration of treaties, arguments on airways, sanitation, bibliographies, copyrights and exchange of professors! Or is it because the international machinery in the League of Nations and the World Court is now so well recognized that American nations believe it is unnecessary to erect special organizations for the American Continent? Or is it because the political and economic influence of the United States has so far extended itself over Latin America that many of those countries believe it now to their advantage to follow the lead of the United States rather than to continue their old position of Latin-American solidarity?

When the various delegations have returned to their own countries and defended their positions, and especially when the convention concerning the Pan American Union is submitted to the Senates of each of the twenty-one American countries and thus public as well as official opinion is given a definite opportunity—probably for the first time in the history of Pan-Americanism—to register itself, we will have considerably more data by which to clarify these questions.

The fellowship for six weeks of a hundred and fifty of the most prominent representatives of American Governments accomplished much. This was more evident at Havana than at any other previous gathering, Pan-American especially, because of the very cordial, modest and earnest attitude of the large and distinguished delegation of the United States. Again, while the Latin Americans were most polite in not mentioning sore points, their steady opposition to intervention, with the exception of a few States that are too directly indebted to us to disagree with us, must have im-

pressed our Government with the seriousness of such interference in the internal affairs of other American States.

A beginning was finally made toward the codification of American international law, which movement was started in the Mexican Conference in 1901. A convention on private international law was approved by all the countries except the United States, which felt that its States' rights did not permit such approval.

A treaty on aviation, an important move to extend the Pan-American Sanitary Code to all the continent, the organization of a geographical institute and an institute of intellectual cooperation, the beginnings of a study on immigration problems and the appointment of a commission to study the status of women and to make recommendations on the subject to the seventh conference, which is to meet in Montevideo, all have within them possibilities of transforming the social and moral life of America to such an extent that they themselves might prove a solution of the vexing political questions which baffled the conference.

STATEMENT BY L. S. ROWE, DIRECTOR OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

THE Sixth International Conference of American States, which adjourned today, will go down in history as in many respects the most significant, as well as the most fruitful, of the series of conferences inaugurated by the first conference held at Washington in 1889.

None of the preceding conferences has had as varied a program nor have the programs included so many important questions closely affecting the larger interests of all the republics of the American continent. It is a significant fact that in each and every one of the questions included in the program of the present conference, important and constructive forward steps have been taken.

As regards the Pan American Union, the fact that unanimous agreement was reached in the formulation of a convention is in itself an indication of the importance which the American republics attach to the Pan American Union. This convention places the union on a firmer basis than it has ever before occupied.

Furthermore the discussions in the conference relative to the organization and functions of the Pan American Union indicated the deep interest of all the republics in the development of the functions of the union and in the strengthening of its position as the official international organization of the American republics.

The decision of the conference not to entrust political functions to the union will serve to enlarge the union's usefulness in the field of commercial, educational and cultural cooperation between the republics of America, for it will remove any misgiv-

ings that may have existed that the union will interfere with the sovereignty of the constituent States.

In the domain of public and private international law the conference made important steps forward. The acceptance by the delegations of twenty States of the code of private international law prepared by Dr. Antonio S. De Bustamante is a step of deep significance to the future of Pan-American relations.

The greatest triumph of the conference in the field of public international law is the resolution, unanimously adopted, providing that disputes of a juridical nature be submitted to arbitration and that a conference of the American republics be held in Washington within twelve months for the negotiation of a convention to render obligatory arbitration effective.

A further resolution of great importance, also unanimously adopted, outlaws aggressive war and commits the republics of America to the use of peaceable means for the settlement of all disputes that may arise between them.

The codification of international law for the American republics has begun and the sixth conference has been able to prepare and agree upon conventions dealing with public international law on:

1. The rights of asylum.
2. Duties of neutrals in civil strife.
3. Maritime neutrality.
4. Treaties.
5. Diplomatic agents.
6. Consular agents.
7. Status of foreigners.

The signing of a convention on commercial aviation and the action taken on the Pan-American railway and on the Pan-American highway constitute real achievements in the field of communications.

The program of the conference was also carried forward in the field of cultural relations. The establishment of a geographical institute and of a Pan-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation will mean much

to the development of better understanding between the nations of America.

In the field of social problems, the unanimous purpose to give the Pan-American Sanitary Code full effect in all the republics of the American Continents carries with it the possibility of far-reaching results in the field of public sanitation, especially the possibility of Pan-American cooperation in this important matter.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

THE following are the texts of the more important resolutions adopted by the Pan-American Congress at Havana:

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

Whereas the American Republics desire to express their condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations; and

Whereas the American Republics cherish the most fervent desire to contribute in every possible manner to the development of international methods for the pacific settlement of disputes between States:

The Sixth International Conference of American States resolves:

1. That the American Republics adopt compulsory arbitration as the means to be employed for the pacific settlement of their international differences of a juridic character.

2. That the American Republics shall meet in Washington within one year to draw up a convention for the realization of this principle with the minimum of exceptions considered indispensable to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the States, as well as the exercise of the latter in internal affairs, excluding also whatever involves the interest or refers to the action of a State not party to the convention.

3. That the Governments of the American Republics shall send for this purpose plenipotentiary instructed as to the maximum and minimum which the Governments will accept in the extension of compulsory arbitral jurisdiction.

4. That the convention or conventions of conciliation and arbitration which may be signed should leave open a protocol of progressive arbitration permitting the development of this beneficent institution to its maximum.

5. That the convention or conventions agreed upon shall, as soon as signed, be submitted immediately to the respective Governments for their ratification at the earliest possible moment.

[Note: This was the resolution which was offered in explanation of the note of the United States to the French Government as the reason for omitting the word "aggression." See "International Events" on page 113].

WARS OF AGGRESSION

Whereas the American nations should always be inspired by solidary cooperation for justice and the general good;

Whereas nothing so obstructs such cooperation as the use of violence;

Whereas there is no international controversy, no matter how serious, which cannot

be settled pacifically if the parties thereto sincerely desire to reach a pacific solution; and

Whereas wars of aggression are an international crime against humanity;

The Sixth International Conference of American States hereby resolves:

1. That every act of aggression is considered illegal and is therefore declared forbidden.

2. That the American States shall employ all pacific means to settle the disputes which may arise between them.

THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION

The Sixth International Conference of American States resolves:

That the Pan-American Union continue to be governed by the resolutions in force until the States members of the Union resolve otherwise with the following modifications:

1. The government of the Pan-American Union shall be vested in a Governing Board composed of the representatives that the Governments of the American Republics may appoint. The appointment may devolve upon the diplomatic representatives of the respective countries at Washington.

Besides his own country, a member of the Governing Board may serve as special representative of one or more countries, in which case such representative shall have as many votes as countries represented.

2. The Director General shall appoint, with the approval of the Governing Board, the personnel necessary to the work of the Pan-American Union, endeavoring as far as possible to distribute the positions among the nationals of the countries, members of the Union.

3. Neither the Governing Board nor the Pan-American Union shall exercise functions of a political character.

4. The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union shall prepare the regulations and fix the status of the members of the staff, determining their salaries and conditions of retirement.

5. The States, members of the Union, may withdraw from the Union at any time, but shall pay their respective quotas for the period of the current fiscal year.

CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The Sixth International Conference of American States resolves:

1. The future formulation of international law will be undertaken through properly organized technical preparation, with the cooperation of the Committees of Investigation and international coordination and of the scientific institutions herein referred to.

2. The International Commission of Jurists of Rio de Janeiro will meet on the dates which the respective Governments may designate to undertake the work of codification of public and private international law, the Pan-American Union being entrusted with securing the necessary agreement for the purposes of the meeting.

3. Three Permanent Committees shall be organized, one in Rio de Janeiro for the work of Public International Law; another in Montevideo for the work of Private International Law, and another in Havana to undertake studies in Comparative Legislation and uniformity of legislation. The duties of these organs shall be:

(a). To present to the Governments a plan or report of the matters susceptible to codification and standardization of legislation, containing those which are in such shape as to be the object of regulation and codification and those in which international experience and the new principles and aspirations of justice make further development desirable.

The presentation of this report would have for its object to obtain from the Governments an indication of the subjects which in their judgment may afford material for study to serve as a basis for the preparation of conventional regulations or fundamental declarations.

(b). To classify, on the basis of the above mentioned plan or report and the replies of the Governments, the subjects to be considered in the following manner: (1) Subjects which are in condition for ratification through having received the unanimous consent of the Governments; (2) Matters susceptible of codification through having received not the unanimous but the preponderant approval of the Governments; (3) Subjects with respect to which there does not exist a dominant opinion for immediate regulation.

(c). To present to the Governments the above classification, for the purpose of obtaining from them their general ideas on the manner in which the juridical problems of the topics subject to codification may be planned and executed, as well as all the information and juridical, legal, political, diplomatic and any other antecedents that may contribute to a complete clarification of the subject.

(d). To request and obtain from the na-

tional societies of international law, their scientific opinion and their general points of view on the regulation and formulation of the juridical questions which may be considered by the committees.

(e). To compile all the above-mentioned material and send it, with the formulation of the first projects to the Pan-American Union, which will submit them to the scientific examination of the Executive Committee of the American Institute of International Law in order that it may undertake a technical study of such projects and present conclusions and formulas in a report on the subject.

4. The opinion of the Inter-American High Commission will also be heard in economic, financial and maritime matters as a technical organization of cooperation.

5. The studies and formulas above mentioned having been presented, they will be submitted to the Governments, who may agree upon a meeting of the International Commission of Jurists, if they believe it desirable, or the inclusion of the studies and formulas in the program of the International Conference of American States.

6. In order that the subjects susceptible to codification or legislative standardization may be included in the program of the International Conference of American States, or in the program of work of the Commission of Jurists, if it is so decided, it will be necessary that the projects and antecedents above mentioned be communicated to the Governments at least one year in advance.

7. The three committees above mentioned shall be formed by the Governments with members of the respective national societies of international law. They will communicate with the Governments and with the Executive Committee of the Institute through the Pan-American Union.

8. When it is considered opportune, a Commission of Jurists may be constituted, versed in the civil legislation of the countries of America, for the purpose of studying said legislation and draft a project of uniform civil legislation for the countries of America, especially Latin America, selecting the means that will obviate the inconveniences which result from diversity of legislation.

9. The Pan-American Union, as far as its organization may permit, will cooperate in the preparatory work referred to in the preceding articles.



Outstanding Events Of The Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

ANY attempt to outline the interests of the United States in any month since the World War must include some discussion of the foreign relations of this country. Whether we will or no, the Atlantic seaboard, the Pacific seaboard, the Great Lake regions, and the Gulf States are all interested in and involved in questions of foreign policy. The Northeastern States are affected by anything concerning foreign trade, shipping, tariffs or immigration. On the Pacific Coast people are aroused by questions of Oriental trade and of the stability of Asiatic nations. On the north, the area is concerned by questions of lake navigation and the use of lake waters, and by commerce and intercourse with the Canadians. The Gulf Coast feels the especial pertinence of questions of border intercourse with Mexico and commerce with Central America, the Caribbean Island countries and South America. The whole East and South-east is aroused by any effort at either end to limit commerce with Central and South America.

From month to month also the country as a whole is aroused by very serious issues of naval defense and possible offense, of world trade and the investments, public and private, of American capital in foreign countries.

The special article on The Results of the Pan-American Congress, printed elsewhere in these pages, assesses the significance of the recent American Conference at Havana, in which an attempt was made to deflect the United States from its century-long assertions of paramount interest in the Canal zones—both Panama and Nicaragua, in the control of island republics, and in the attitude of the benevolent big brother to weak and erring little sister republics. All efforts to secure a real Pan-American Union with a genuine congress, having power to adopt general measures, are obstructed by the complete unwillingness of the American people to admit that 80,000,000 Latin-Americans organized in twenty republics, should be entitled even by unanimous vote to lay down the law to 120,000,000 inhabitants of the United States of America, one and indivisible.

Seldom in the history of the United States has there been so much uncertainty and uneasiness three months before the National Nominating Conventions for choosing candidates. Governor Smith of New York has been triumphantly nominated by his friends; but nobody is as yet able to calculate how many of those friends will be delegates to the Democratic Convention. So far Republican sentiment has not yet crystallized around any presumptive candidate.

After months of strenuous litigation, the group of criminals engaged in the business of corrupting public men, in State and national service, by buying or otherwise acquiring favorable grants and tainted decisions, has reached the point where a few of them are actually suffering the tortures of easy imprisonment for contempt of court! By flight from the jurisdiction of the courts and by refusal to testify against each other, certain very rich criminals have so far escaped any real punishment; with two or three honorable exceptions, the heavy stockholders in the corporations which have been the worst sinners, stand by the few who have actually been indicted and re-elect them to directorates and other positions of trust.

A very serious question has arisen as to the admission of Mexicans as immigrants into the United States. That immigration has run into the hundreds of thousands; has widely distributed a population unable to speak English, which is out of the reach of education for their children and in many respects are subject to a mild system of slavery. Of course, large employers of crude labor want the Mexicans and distribute them as far north as Minnesota. Naturally the intelligent black and white wage laborers already in the country are alarmed at this competition of crude, low-paid and unimproving labor.

Three great engineering problems confront the country, and are being warmly discussed in Congress. The first is the Muscle Shoals problem. It appears that to make the present expensive dams fully available a second system of expensive dams must be constructed further up the river. Shall the power then be turned over to

manufacturers of farm fertilizers? Or shall it be distributed to build up a factory district? The second problem is the damming of the Colorado, which has raised intricate problems of the right of States to headwaters, to the middle course of the deep-sunken Colorado and the distribution of power and water after it leaves the Rocky Mountain States and approaches the Gulf of California.

Every year at this time the Platos and Socrateses of American education come together in the immense convention of the school superintendents, held this year in Boston. We Americans take our education very much to heart. Ours was the first populous country to realize the economic and moral value of an educated people; though the investigation into the schooling of the recruits in the World War brought out the frightful fact that millions of grown men and women, born in the United States, have never been taught the arts of reading and writing. The school superintendents represent first of all the city systems, great and small; but also the State officials who have charge of systems of rural and village instruction. They are backed up by the immense National Education Association, with its 160,000 members, which holds its general meeting this year in Minneapolis.

The meeting in Boston was enlivened by

a presentment against the high schools and the junior colleges of the country by President Lowell of Harvard University. His criticism was that the boys who come from the high schools to college are not as far advanced as they ought to be at their age, as proven by the experience of some European countries. The answer of the high school spokesmen was that they were trying to give a good high school education to more than ten times as many young folks as ever find their way to college; and they drew to President Lowell's attention the fact that graduates of high schools in Harvard College average better than those from private schools. The real difficulty seems to be that American boys and girls will not endure the driving which pushes forward the girls, and especially the boys, abroad, in such countries as France and Germany. As for the junior college, that name is applied to a large number of public institutions which are really super-high schools, with a curriculum and a teaching force and a plant which are not collegiate. Another group of junior high schools is made on the original pattern of Chicago University out of the first and second years of the regular college course. This system takes away much of the traditional value of combining freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors into one group of like-minded youth who help in educating one another.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Problems of Security, Disarmament and Renunciation of War

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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A GENERAL election just across the horizon has a debilitating effect on those responsible for national policies. Their attention is divided. If the policies that have guided their administration are to be continued, and they cannot be blamed for believing that this is essential, they must be returned to office. To consummate this worthy end they must be cautious. The voter is a capricious individual and easily frightened by new and untried ideas. It is unsafe to inject them into a political campaign. The older shibboleths—even if they may have lost their meaning—and appeals

to national vanity and passion, generally serve both for the ins and the outs in place of a discussion of the more vital issues.

With such elections just a little way ahead in several of the European countries, the delegates on the present Security Committee are moving very circumspectly and cautiously. Although the results of their deliberations are not very extensive, they are by no means negligible. From the nature of the case much of their work must be experimental. No one can predict exactly what its results will be. Every nation desires peace, but few of them are willing

to pay its full price. There is some boundary which must be rectified, some national advantage which must be gained. They jockey for position, each seeking for a little more. But all the while the discussion is going on, concessions are made and agreements are reached. They lack perfection and are not to be taken too seriously, but the trend is in the right direction. Impatience and discouragement at the meagreness of the result is natural, but unwarranted.

Since the organization meeting of the Security Committee in early December the rapporteurs had been at work on projects for discussion at the meeting which opened at Geneva on Feb. 20. Notable programs were prepared also by Great Britain and Germany. The official statement from the rapporteurs, drafted by Dr. Benès, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, was issued on Feb. 10. In the course of a sixty-page report he defined the degree of security which, in the opinion of most of the European nations, is a prerequisite of disarmament. A general treaty insuring security is at present, the report admits, impossible; but regional compacts, on the Locarno model, are within the range of practical politics. Juridical disputes may be submitted to obligatory arbitration and others to conciliation. All treaties must be related to the League Covenant and should incorporate the idea of the renunciation of war, the organization of machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes and systems of mutual defense. When causes come before the Council for action it is suggested that, failing to secure unanimity, it might act by majority vote or as an alternative refer it to arbitration. Whenever a decision has been reached the sanctions provided in Article XVI would be brought into play, and any nation which refused to obey the demand of the Council for an armistice would be declared as an aggressor. A warning is given, however, against too rigid codes of procedure. International situations are frequently very complex and considerable freedom must be allowed in dealing with them. Recognizing that immediate disarmament is impossible, it is suggested that during the further discussion of the plans all extension of military and naval armament should be suspended.

This report was presented to the Security Committee at its first meeting, and it formed the basis for the discussion during the entire session. At the opening session Lord Cushenden surprised the delegates by reversing in three important particulars the



PROCESSION OF HISTORIC MASKS

"France needs security so that she can still carry on her pillaging and incendiary incursions in defenseless Germany"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

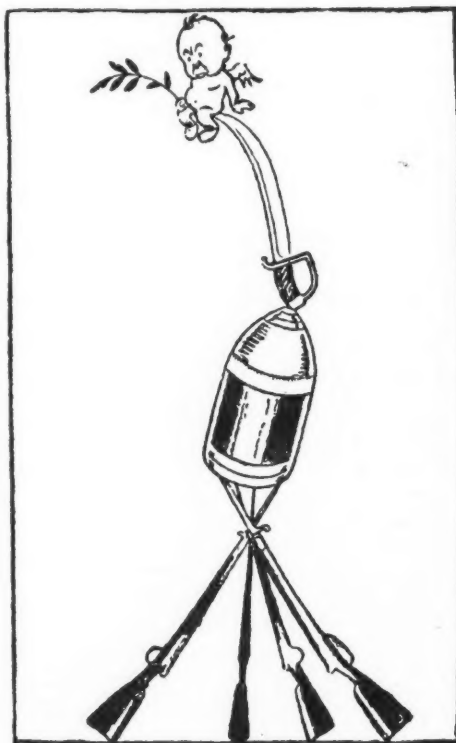
former British position. He advocated the acceptance of the proposal made at the last meeting of the Assembly by the Finnish delegate that in the event of war the League through its members should furnish financial aid to the nation attacked. He announced the acceptance of the French thesis, which his Government had fought vigorously in several conferences; that security and disarmament are interdependent. He supported regional accords, which had never before met with the approval of the British delegation. In this last position he was opposed by Dr. Ernst von Simson, the new German delegate, who expressed the fear that such agreements would create mutually hostile groups among the League members. M. Paul-Boncour, doubtless influenced by recent Italo-Hungarian gun running, stressed the importance of providing for the investigation by the League of situations of potential danger.

France is presumably at the back of the suggested regional group which would enlarge the Little Entente by the inclusion of Austria and Hungary. Germany is supposed to oppose this move, since it would block a future union of Austria with the Reich. Italy may be expected to try to prevent such

a combination, as it would make more difficult the task of extending her own influence within that region, and she does not wish to be faced by so powerful a group just beyond her northern border. The attitude of Great Britain is still uncertain. The Foreign Office has no desire for either a dominant France or a dominant Italy and now encourages one, now the other. Should the capital of the League be removed to Vienna, as has been suggested, it would be desirable that Austria should be free from special commitments such as membership in a group of this sort would imply. It is as unlikely as it is unnecessary that the arrangement between these States would go beyond the limits of a multilateral treaty of friendship and mutual assistance.

In line with the ideas expressed in the Benès report, the German delegation made a specific proposal by virtue of which the members of the League would agree, when parties to a dispute, to accept provisional recommendations of the Council for preventing its extension; second, in case of danger of war, to accept its advice to re-establish or to maintain the military *status quo ante*; and third, in case war has actually broken out, to accept the Council's recommendation of an armistice. The British delegate took strong ground against the application of sanctions by majority vote of the Council. A nation might be put in the position of being obliged to join in coercing a Power even if they might have voted against such action in the Council. The principle of the protocol was, for the time, at least, laid on the shelf by the action of the committee on Feb. 25 in deciding that more effective guarantees of security must be sought in separate or collective agreements rather than in any addition to the Covenant obligations. Three types of such treaties were suggested by M. Politis, the Greek delegate, who prepared the memorandum for discussion. Under the first the agreement would cover non-aggression, the pacific settlement of disputes and mutual assistance; the second type would exclude the guarantee of assistance, and the third would provide only for non-aggression. During the days of discussion such treaties were being drafted. They must be presented for approval after action by the Security Committee to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, the Council and finally to the Assembly.

On the opening day of the conference Boris Stein, the Russian observer, deposited with Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League, a draft disarmament conven-



ETERNAL PEACE

—Izvestiya, Moscow

tion, drawn along the lines presented by Litvinov at the meeting of the Preparatory Commission in November. It was an extensive document, covering eighty pages, and it went into great detail in establishing the method of disarmament. From the meagre details contained in the dispatches it cannot accurately be judged, but that it is a sincere proposal which, if it could be adopted, would produce effective results is admitted on all sides. It provides for the immediate and universal demobilization of 50 per cent. of the present armed force, a corresponding destruction of arms and munitions and the cessation of all military and naval construction. Demobilization and destruction are to go on progressively through four years, leaving at the end of that time only such forces as are needed for police and frontier guards. National navies are to be supplanted by an international maritime police. Control over the fulfilment of the disarmament convention is to be entrusted to a permanent international commission, formed on the basis of equality, with participation of the legislative, administrative and working classes. Though such

a treaty is too idealistic for present adoption and some of its features seem utterly fantastic, its presentation and discussion at the coming session of the Preparatory Commission cannot but have a stimulating effect. Such an unequivocal proposal is a challenge, and it cannot with safety be dismissed contemptuously.

It may very well be that the negotiations now going on between our Government and that of France regarding a treaty for the renunciation of war may have results no less important than those of the conference at Geneva. Mr. Kellogg's note of Feb. 27, if one may judge from its reception by the European press, did not go very far in clarifying the situation. After the customary review of the French note of Jan. 21, Mr. Kellogg called attention to the discrepancy which undoubtedly exists between the unreserved renunciation of war included in the French draft treaty of last June and their present insistence that their treaty and Covenant obligations do not permit them to engage in a multilateral treaty of the same purport. If such obligations actually are compelling, "it seems idle to discuss either bilateral or multilateral treaties unreservedly renouncing war." In the course of his note Mr. Kellogg went on to say:

I am reluctant to believe, however, that the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations really stand in the way of co-operation of the United States and members of the League of Nations in a common effort to abolish the institution of war. Of no little interest in this connection is the recent adoption of a resolution by the Sixth International Conference of American States expressing in the name of the American republics unqualified condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations.

It is significant to note that of the twenty-one States represented at the conference seventeen are members of the League of Nations.

I trust, therefore, that neither France nor any other member of the League of Nations will finally decide that an unequivocal and unqualified renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy either violates the specific obligations imposed by the Covenant or conflicts with the fundamental idea and purpose of the League of Nations.

On the contrary, is it not entirely reasonable to conclude that a formal engagement of this character entered into by all of the principal powers and ultimately, I trust, by the entire family of nations, would be a most effective instrument for promoting the great ideal of peace which the League itself has so closely at heart?

If, however, such a declaration were accompanied by definitions of the word "aggressor" and by exceptions and qualifications stipulating when nations would be justified in going to war, its effect would be

very greatly weakened and its positive value as a guaranty of peace virtually destroyed.

The ideal which inspired the effort so sincerely and so hopefully put forward by your Government and mine is arresting and appealing just because of its purity and simplicity; and I cannot avoid the feeling that if Governments should publicly acknowledge that they can only deal with this ideal in a technical spirit and must insist upon the adoption of reservations impairing if not utterly destroying the true significance of their common endeavors, they would be in effect only recording their impotence, to the keen disappointment of mankind in general.

The French, and Europe generally, are quite at a loss to know exactly what it is that Mr. Kellogg means by his phrase, "the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." They are unable to believe that by such a declaration he intends to inhibit our Government from defending itself if attacked. His insistence on the inclusion in the recently concluded arbitration treaty of a reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine seems to imply a similar reservation in the proposed treaty. Would not these reservations, they ask, sully the "purity and simplicity" of such an instrument quite as sadly as do those embodying their own commitments? Wherein lies the difference? In the event that Mr. Kellogg does, in fact, intend to renounce war under all circumstances, and this they cannot believe, their past experience with the United States Senate makes them very skeptical that a treaty based on such an idea would meet its approval.

Assuming that Mr. Kellogg's reference to a resolution of the Pan-American Conference was to that introduced by the Mexican delegation, adopted on Feb. 17 and cabled to Paris, they jumped to the conclusion that he had been guilty of a misquotation. He referred, in fact, to another resolution, introduced by the Brazilian delegation and passed on the same day as the Mexican resolution. This includes in the preamble an unqualified "condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy." Unfortunately, this second document was not cabled to Paris until March 1. The Mexican resolution read, in part: "Whereas, war of aggression constitutes an international crime against humanity, therefore be it resolved that all aggression be considered illegal." The full text of both resolutions will be found on page 107.

Although Mr. Kellogg cannot be charged with misquotation, he has laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency. In his earlier notes he had claimed that our Government could not admit the use of the phrase "wars

of aggression" because of the difficulty in determining the aggressor, but only a month later he approved the use of exactly the same phrase when embodied in the Mexican resolution. M. Briand can hardly be blamed if he calls attention to this fact in his reply.

If a treaty of any value is to be drafted there must be no doubt as to its meaning. "Purity and simplicity" will not count for very much in a crisis. If we mean "war of aggression," why not say so? That such a term is difficult of exact definition is evident, but it is not impossible. The latest suggestion for such a definition is that made by a group headed by Major Gen. Henry T. Allen: "The aggressor in war is the nation that, having failed to settle its disputes by conference, conciliation, arbitra-

tion, appeal to judicial procedure or other peaceful means, initiates an attempt to settle it by war."

Before it became necessary for M. Briand to reply he had an opportunity to discuss its terms and the whole question of the proposed multilateral treaty at Geneva with the Foreign Ministers of all the nations that we have suggested as parties to it; and his answer, when received, will doubtless express, in part at least, a joint opinion. All of them are most anxious to enlist the aid of this country in establishing conditions that will make war difficult if not impossible. Thus far our attitude has not been very helpful. They are willing to go a long distance to conciliate us, but to do so they must know exactly what it is that we mean.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

ARBITRATION, security, international law, economics and finance were the principal activities of the League of Nations in February, with an important meeting of the Arbitration and Security Committee, the preliminary steps for the First Conference on Codification of International Law, various follow-up developments in the economic sphere and investigation of Portugal's request for a \$60,000,000 loan, while considerable importance attached to the request to the League Council made by the Rumanian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak Governments for consideration at its next meeting of the seizure at St. Gotthard on the Austro-Hungarian frontier of four carloads of machine guns, listed as "machinery," which were passing from a mysterious source across Austria into Hungary to an uncertain destination.

International Law—The preliminary steps for the First Conference for the Codification of International Law, which it is hoped to hold in 1929, were taken in a ten-day session of the special committee of five experts chosen for wide knowledge of international practice, legal precedents and scientific data, Basdevant (France), François (Netherlands), Pilotti (Italy), Carlos Castre Ruiz (Chile) and Sir Cecil Hurst (Great Britain). For the three questions on the agenda of the conference, i. e., conflicts of laws on nationality, territorial waters and the responsibility of States for damages to the person or property of foreigners, the committee drew up detailed

questionnaires to be sent to all Governments for reply at the latest by Oct. 31, and to contain, if possible, information as regards present national and international legislation, experience gained from their own practice and views as regards the filling up of gaps in international law. The scope of the questionnaires may be seen from the fact that the first covers questions as to the exclusive competence of each State regarding nationality, double nationality, the effects of the naturalization of parents on the nationality of children, nationality of children of unknown parents, cases of double nationality or loss of nationality, as with married women, and so forth; that the second raises the question of the nature of the sovereignty of a State over its territorial waters, the status of waters surrounding islands and in straits, discrimination between inland waters and territorial waters, and so on; and the third the international responsibility of States for damages done on their territory to foreign property or persons, cases of riot or insurrection, pecuniary reparation and other matters.

Economics—The greatly enlarged economic work of the League following last Spring's most successful conference produced a continuing activity during the month. Most general, perhaps, were the arrangements for the constitution of the new Consultative Committee which once a year is to take a bird's eye survey of the world economic situation and which was

called for its first meeting at Geneva on May 14. In connection therewith the Soviet Government informed the League that the cooperation of its nationals presented no interest for it and it would not, therefore, suggest any names for appointment.

The period for filing exceptions to the Import and Export Restrictions Convention came to an end on Feb. 1. By that time twenty-six States, including the United States, had signed the convention, and a considerable number of exceptions had been made. These reservations are to be examined at a meeting in early June when the conditions and date of the coming into force of the convention will be settled.

Similarly, a subcommittee of experts on veterinary measures examined the guarantees which might be given by exporting countries, the facilities which importing countries might thereupon grant and, in general, the most appropriate means of applying veterinary police measures, in such a way as to take account of the economic interests of the exporting countries without detriment to the hygienic interests of the importing countries. The committee felt that it was indispensable for each State to possess an effective veterinary organization and publish a regular sanitary review. In order to obtain further information for a second meeting in June, it drew up a detailed questionnaire for discussion with various Governments.

The Preparatory Committee for the In-

ternational Relief Union for populations stricken by disaster met in Geneva on Feb. 23, with T. B. Kittredge, an American, representing the League of Red Cross Societies. Similarly, a second session was held in London of the Committee on Maritime Tonnage Measurements, also with an American representative present. Further, the draft statute for the International Educational Cinematograph Institute, which the Italian Government had offered to found in connection with the League, was completed at a meeting in Rome. Plans for the new Assembly and Secretariat building were further developed and an important gift in connection therewith announced from Australia.

The United States—As usual, the United States was considerably interested in much of this work. The Government signed the Convention on Import and Export Restrictions, the second League convention to bear an American signature; sent an expert to the meeting on Maritime Tonnage Measurements, but declined the invitation to the Arbitration and Security Committee. At the same time the State Department, in agreement with Congress, forwarded the sum of \$16,000 to cover its proportional share of the four general conferences recently attended by the United States on Disarmament, Economics, Import and Export Restrictions and Transit.

GENEVA, Feb. 25, 1928.

THE UNITED STATES

The Presidential Race and Pre-Election Issues

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

LATELY LECTURER ON AMERICAN HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

WITH the announcement by Secretary Herbert Hoover on Feb. 12 of his willingness to allow his name to be entered in the Presidential primaries in Ohio, the pre-convention campaign of the Republicans began to quicken its pace. In making his announcement Mr. Hoover stated that his conviction that he "should not strive for the nomination," together with his obligations as Secretary of Commerce, precluded him from making a personal campaign, and that he must rely wholly upon his friends in Ohio "to conduct it, and to conduct it in a fair manner and with steadfast regard for Republican success in

the State and the nation." It was his special desire "that expenditure of money shall be strictly limited and rigidly accounted for." "If," he concluded, "the greatest trust which can be given by our people should come to me, I should consider it my duty to carry forward the principles of the Republican Party and the great objectives of President Coolidge's policies—all of which have brought to our country such a high degree of happiness, progress and security."

Once Mr. Hoover was definitely in the field, his views on public questions were eagerly sought and his opponents lost no time in launching their attacks. On Feb.

14 the Senate Committee on Commerce voted to call for his views on the question of Mississippi flood control. Among the members of the committee are Senator Willis of Ohio, also a Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination, and Senator Hawes of Missouri, a strong supporter of the Democratic candidacy of Senator Reed of that State. Testifying before the committee on Feb. 24, Mr. Hoover stated in substance that he was "not prepared to take a definite stand on the question whether the communities in the Mississippi flood area should bear a part of the expense of construction work necessary to safeguard against another disaster," and expressed the opinion "that the disputed point of payment might be left to a commission." The latter suggestion, he said, had recently been "made by the President in the press." Subsequently inquiry by Washington correspondents showed that the suggestion had not been made by Mr. Coolidge directly to the press, but to the senior Senators from Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi at a White House breakfast at which the flood control problem had been discussed.

On Feb. 23 Mr. Hoover replied to Senator Borah's prohibition questionnaire by saying that he did not favor a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and that he stood, "of course, for the efficient, vigorous and sincere enforcement of the laws enacted thereunder. . . . Our country has deliber-



THE STERN GUARDIAN
—New York Herald Tribune

ately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively." Representative Crampton of Michigan, a Republican spokesman for Dry organizations, declared in the House on Feb. 29 that Mr. Hoover's reply was satisfactory.

Senator Willis, who opened his campaign at Youngstown, Ohio, on Feb. 22 with a speech in which he declared that "we want no international-mindedness in the shaping of American foreign policy," and whose platform also includes "an old-fashioned William McKinley Republican protective tariff," made a vigorous attack upon Secretary Hoover on March 3 on the grounds of his long absence from the United States, his support of the Treaty of Versailles, the Covenant of the League of Nations and President Wilson's appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress in 1918, his alleged course in bringing about agricultural depression by holding down the prices of farm products and allowing the prices of other products "to go skyhigh" while he was Food Administrator, and his advocacy of the Chicago position in regard to the diversion of water from the Great Lakes.

Interest in the Hoover and Willis candidacies has been crossed by evidences of increased effort to bring about the renomination of Mr. Coolidge. In a speech at Albany, N. Y., on Feb. 14 Charles D. Hilles, Vice



THAT'S THAT
—Oregon Daily Journal, Portland, Ore.



Chairman of the Republican National Committee and the most conspicuous promoter of the Coolidge boom, again asserted that the demand for Mr. Coolidge's re-election was "country-wide and insistent," and assailed the "men who were trying to succeed him" as "in turn surrounded by men of ambition and zeal who concur in the view expressed by certain Democrats that the President and his friends must now retire from the stage in order to avoid the appearance of double dealing." A "quiet and discreet" movement, said to have promise of support from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Colorado, Washington and Oregon, to put Mr. Coolidge in nomination at Kansas City before the balloting begins was reported from Washington at the end of February, and an independent movement to the same effect in Illinois, headed by Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago, was also announced. Mr. Hilles, who called on the President on March 2, was quoted as saying that he was "frankly and unequivocally" for the renomination of Mr. Coolidge, and that the latter "will be voted for at the outset" in the convention "if his name isn't presented formally." Mr. Coolidge, meantime, has maintained his habitual silence.

The Democratic campaign has also become more active. Senator Reed of Missouri opened his canvass at Dallas, Texas, on Feb. 20 with a scathing arraignment of the Republican Party and the Coolidge Administration.

tration, calling upon the people to "take this Government out of the hands of boodlers, grafters and lobbyists" and demanding "the dismissal of a vast army of spies, snoopers, sneaks and informers." The latter statement, although accompanied by a declaration that the Eighteenth Amendment must be enforced, left his attitude toward prohibition somewhat in doubt. In later speeches in the Southwest, California and Colorado he attacked the protective tariff and the League of Nations and charged President Coolidge with "malfeasance in office" because of his "inactivity" in connection with the Senate investigation of naval oil leases.

The announcement at San Francisco on March 2 of the candidacy of Senator Walsh of Montana, a Catholic and a Dry, represented primarily the effort on the part of the Dry Democrats, led by William G. McAdoo of California, to head off Governor Smith of New York, whose candidacy has continued to show more popular strength than those of all the other Democratic candidates combined. Senator Walsh, who promptly declared that the movement in his behalf had not been inspired by him and that he had no campaign plans and did not intend to leave Washington in order to promote his candidacy, gave out an interview on March 6 which indicated as the principal planks in his platform a lower tariff for the benefit of the farmers, completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway to give reduced freight rates for farm products, and "a radical change in our attitude toward and our relations with foreign nations" with the object of cultivating a more



A LINCOLN DAY REMINDER
—*The New York Times*

friendly feeling for the United States abroad.

Bishop James Cannon Jr., Chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, speaking as "a lifelong Democrat" at the opening session of a prohibition convention called by the Anti-Saloon League at St. Petersburg, Fla., on March 4, declared that "the nomination of either Smith, Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, or Senator James A. Reed of Missouri would be the greatest calamity that could befall the Democratic Party at this time." "Faced with such a

proposition," he said, "there are multiplied thousands of Dry Southern Democrats who have positively declared that they prefer that the Democratic Party shall never elect another President rather than do so by subordinating moral convictions to partisan political loyalty." The General Superintendent of the League, F. Scott McBride, while denouncing Governor Smith as the "froth that the Democratic Party will blow into nothingness when it gathers at Houston," nevertheless assured the convention that if there was any Democratic bolt at Houston or afterward it would probably be by the Wets.

ACTIVITIES IN HOUSE AND SENATE

WITH public attention focused more and more upon the Presidential race, Congress has done little beyond debating a few of the more important items of business before it and adding to the already considerable list of Federal investigations. A flood control bill, providing for an estimated expenditure of \$473,000,000, against the \$290,400,000 approved by President Coolidge, devolving the whole cost upon the Federal Treasury instead of imposing 20 per cent. of the cost upon the States to be benefited, and setting up a Mississippi Valley Flood Control Commission to have charge of the undertaking in place of control by army engineers, as contemplated by the Administration plan, was reported to the House on Feb. 16. Strong objection to the bill, based in part upon the belief that the execution of the project would ultimately cost \$1,500,000,000, without affording any more relief than the Administration proposal, was made by President Coolidge, although he let it be known on Feb. 24 that he would not actively oppose the assumption of the entire cost by the Federal Government.

A compromise bill, drafted by the Senate Commerce Committee after consultation with the President, was reported to the Senate on Feb. 29. The bill, which calls for an appropriation of \$325,000,000, provides for certain contributions, partly in money and partly in grants of land and promises of maintenance, by the States and local communities affected, the precise amount of such contributions being left for adjustment on the general principle of ability to pay. No further progress in the settlement of the question had been made when this article was written.

Action on the question of naval construction has been equally inconclusive. In spite of strong support in "big navy" quarters

for the Administration plan calling for the building of 71 vessels of various classes at an estimated cost of \$800,000,000, the volume of protest that was stirred up early made it clear that the original plan would have to be greatly modified. On Feb. 23 the House Committee on Naval Affairs agreed upon a bill reducing the proposed construction to 15 cruisers and one aircraft carrier, the estimated cost being \$274,000,000. The most striking feature of the bill, aside from its curtailment of building, was the omission of submarines and destroyers, of which 41 had been included in the Administration plan. A further bill, appropriating \$14,000,000 to recondition two battleships, including the elevation of their guns so as to give a maximum range of about 10,000 yards, was reported on March 1.

Although the revised program was unsatisfactory to President Coolidge, the earnest appeals which were made to him by religious leaders and other prominent citizens not to insist upon a course which in their opinion would endanger world peace led to the issuance on Feb. 28 of an informal statement in which Mr. Coolidge was represented as holding that the revised scheme kept within the limit for cruisers set by the United States at the Geneva conference and that "there is nothing in the proposal that should alarm any nation or inspire a race in naval armament."

The Administration suffered another rebuff on March 6 when the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, in the face of a communication from Secretary of State Kellogg stating that the United States was prepared to outlaw submarines if other nations would agree, tabled a motion declaring it to be the sense of Congress "that the use of submarines be prohibited and their con-



The Old World: "The American cow is inexhaustible!"

—Mucha, Warsaw

struction discontinued in this and every other country."

A resolution introduced by Senator Walsh of Montana for the investigation of the so-called "power trust," or public utilities corporations, was adopted by the Senate on Feb. 15 after a heated debate, but so changed as to devolve the investigation upon the Federal Trade Commission instead of a special committee of the Senate. The purpose of the change, which Senator Walsh vigorously opposed, was to make the inquiry non-political. A sweeping investigation of strike conditions in the bituminous coal fields of Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Vir-

ginia, where large numbers of union miners have been idle for nearly a year, was voted by the Senate on Feb. 16 and begun by a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce on Feb. 23.

The House bill for the return of the property of alien enemies seized during the World War, calling, among other things, for the immediate payment of about \$50,000,000, was passed by the Senate with various amendments on Feb. 20 and sent to a conference committee, where it was expected that an early agreement would be reached. A long-delayed bill to reapportion the membership of the House, which is still based upon the census of 1910, was approved by the Census Committee of that body on March 2. The bill, however, bases the reapportionment upon the census of 1930 and makes it effective only with the seventy-third Congress (1933-35).

A proposal to increase the term of members of the House of Representatives from two to four years, offered as an amendment to the "Lame Duck" bill to change both the date of the Presidential inauguration and the time of meeting of Congress was defeated in the House on March 8.

President Coolidge again expressed the hope on March 6 that a moderate reduction of Federal taxes might still be voted at the present session. It was pointed out, however, that the amount of such reduction, if any, would depend upon the estimated receipts of the Treasury as shown by the income tax payments on March 15 and that the increased volume of appropriations not included in the budget, among them flood control and various proposed increases of salaries and pensions, might make a tax cut impossible.

OF NATIONAL INTEREST

THE industrial and business depression which has prevailed throughout the country for several months, while still general and pronounced, showed some irregular improvement in February and early in March. Reports which became current about the middle of February of widespread unemployment, especially in the larger cities, caused some anxiety because of the implication that industrial enterprises, in which the unemployment ratio was declared to be exceptionally high, had seriously curtailed their activities. A nation-wide inquiry into the conditions of industrial employment was begun on Feb. 22 by an economic survey organized at New York under the direction

of Secretary Hoover. On March 5, at the suggestion of Senator Wagner of New York, the Senate adopted a resolution calling upon the Department of Labor for a report on the extent of unemployment, including part-time work.

The Senate oil inquiry made substantial progress during the second week in March, when it unearthed the fact that "fake" gifts had been made by various individuals to cover the receipt of the \$260,000 in Liberty bonds turned over by Harry F. Sinclair in November, 1923, to Will H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee. James A. Patten, Chicago grain operator, testified on the witness stand that in re-



Nothing like a high hat to invite snow balls
—New York Herald Tribune

turn for his contribution to the party fund he had received twenty-five \$1,000 Liberty bonds. Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, disclosed in a letter to Senator Walsh that he refused the \$50,000 worth of Liberty bonds sent to him by Mr. Hays without any "previous understanding," but that "at the same time, or shortly thereafter, I made a contribution of \$50,000 of my own funds, which was the amount I intended to contribute." The finding of a memorandum among the papers of the late John T. Pratt bearing the penciled names "Weeks," "Andy," "Du Pont" and "Butler" in relation to his contribution of \$50,000 to the Republican national campaign deficit of 1920, started the Senate on an inquiry in several new directions. Senator Borah on March 11 stated that he had appealed to Chairman William Butler of the Republican National Committee to take steps to purge the party of the "stigma" of "oil." Senator Borah suggested that the Republican organization return the "sinister" oil money.

The House of Representatives on Feb. 14 voted \$13,000,000 for the Federal Prohibition Bureau, in addition to an appropriation of \$28,640,000 for the Coast Guard, of which more than \$15,000,000 was to be used to suppress "rum-running" and the illegal trade in narcotics.

Revised figures of the immigration quotas to be applied beginning July 1 under the

"national origins" provision of the immigration laws transmitted to the Senate by President Coolidge on Feb. 27 reduced the number of immigrants to be admitted to 153,685. The present figure is 164,867.

A decision of the Federal District Court at Buffalo, N. Y., denying the right of Canadian citizens or residents employed in the United States or seeking work therein to pass freely to and fro across the border was reversed on March 5 by the Circuit Court of Appeals on the ground that such persons were not immigrants and that the right of transit had been guaranteed by the Jay treaty of 1794. The Department of Labor announced that it would continue to impose the ban pending a final decision by the Supreme Court.

The Naval Court of Inquiry appointed to investigate the loss of the submarine S-4 off Provincetown, Mass., reported on Feb. 21 that the commanders of the submarine and of the Coast Guard destroyer Paulding which rammed it were jointly responsible for the disaster, and that Rear Admiral Brumby, who was in charge of the rescue work, "failed to contribute" to the execution of the plans of the expert rescue staff "that superior and intelligent guidance, force and sound judgment expected from an officer of his length of service, experience and position." Secretary Mellon,



"Now, Robert, mind teacher!"
—Cleveland Plain Dealer

who designated a board to consider the testimony and findings of the Naval Court of Inquiry, made a vigorous defense of Commander Baylis of the Paulding in a letter to Secretary of the Navy Wilbur.

Henry L. Stimson of New York, successor of the late General Wood as Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, was inaugurated at Manila on March 1. On March 5 Isanro Gabaldon, for eight years Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands at

Washington, resigned his office on the ground of the failure of the United States to keep its pledge to grant independence to the islands.

It was announced on March 1 that the Woodrow Wilson Peace Award, in the form of a medal and \$25,000, had been voted to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh in recognition of his transatlantic flight and other flights in behalf of international friendship and good will.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

The Catholic "War" in Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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REPORTS from Mexico during February dealt largely with the renewal of the conflict between Church and State in that country. The activities of rebellious Catholics in the States of Jalisco, Michoacán, Aguascalientes and Colima led to the establishment of a theoretical blockade around those States early in February. Minister of War Amaro personally took charge of the Federal operations and initiated an offensive campaign that was carried out by aerial bombings of rebel bands in conjunction with infantry, cavalry and artillery attacks. Unofficial estimates on Feb. 8 placed the number of soldiers engaged in the Federal offensive at between 10,000 and 15,000. Reports concerning numerous encounters indicated that the losses of the rebels were heavy. Government estimates of Feb. 18 placed the number of rebels either killed in combat or executed after their capture within the preceding few days at fifty-four.

The Government during February continued by raids on private homes and arrests for propaganda, to enforce with rigor the religious laws and to endeavor to suppress Catholic propaganda. One of the few members of the Catholic Episcopate who had remained in Mexico, José María Armora, Bishop of Tamaulipas, together with three other persons, including a priest, was arrested on Feb. 20 in Mexico City, where he had been in hiding since July, 1926, without complying with the regulations requiring prelates and priests to appear daily at the Ministry of the Interior to sign the register. Bishop Armora was deported into

the United States at Laredo on Feb. 26, as was, a few days later, Manuel Campa, a priest from San Luis Potosí, who was charged with seditious activities against the Government. Late in February Archbishop Jiménez was reported to have issued a manifesto renewing his criticism of the Government's religious policy and calling on all faithful Catholics to defend their church.

Frequent reports of attempts to mediate between the Government and the Mexican Catholic Episcopate inspired a semi-official statement on Feb. 9 to the effect that the attitude of the Government on the Catholic question was entirely unchanged, and that the only thing necessary for peace was for the priests to comply with the law.

Acts of banditry were frequent in Mexico during February. The dynamiting of a train between Manzanillo and Guadalajara, as reported on Feb. 7, resulted in the wounding of five of the train's guard and the death of fourteen bandits. Eleven bandits operating near Guadalajara were captured and executed, according to a dispatch of Feb. 28.

Overproduction of oil throughout the world, principally in the United States, and not recent Mexican petroleum legislation, was assigned as the cause for the present depression in the petroleum industry in Mexico, in statements issued by the Mexican Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor on Feb. 19 and 25. Mexico's production of petroleum in 1927 was approximately 64,000,000 barrels, as compared with 63,828,327 barrels in 1918, 193,397,587 barrels

in 1921, and 89,106,557 barrels in 1926. Executives of American petroleum companies operating in Mexico were reported from New York City late in February to be dissatisfied with conditions under which they have to operate in Mexico and to be contemplating further curtailment of production unless there is an early change in the policy of the Mexican Government.

Under the recently amended petroleum law the objectionable fifty-year "confirmatory concessions" offered by the old law in exchange for valid titles acquired by oil companies before May 1, 1917, are eliminated. However, rights to oil deposits acquired directly by surface owners or by contracts with surface owners, in cases where "positive acts" have been performed, are to be confirmed for an indefinite time but through the objectionable word "concession." Owners of such rights insist upon fee ownership of their properties. Under a decree issued on Feb. 29 the oil companies are given until Jan. 11, 1929, to comply with the law, and in accordance with it, to apply for confirmatory concessions for rights acquired before May 1, 1917.

With the introduction in the United States Congress of a bill by Representative Box of Texas and various other measures dealing with Mexican immigration, the question is raised as to whether our southern neighbor shall be exempt from the quota regulation. Under the existing law the 2 per cent. quota affecting European nations has not applied to Canada and Mexico as States of the Western Hemisphere. The decision of the

Circuit Court of Appeals on March 5 (which is mentioned in the article on the United States appearing elsewhere in this issue) upholds the right of Canadian citizens who work on United States territory to pass freely across the border. Although this opinion, pending an appeal to a higher tribunal, does not definitely settle the matter, it raises issues which are pertinent to the Mexican situation.

Acts affecting immigration from Mexico are being debated before committees in both the House and in the Senate. According to press reports on March 5 executive departments at Washington presented objections on the quota restriction to the Senate Committee on Immigration. The Department of Labor, though apparently opposed to subjecting American countries to the quota provisions, was said to advocate the advisability of some restrictions on Mexican immigration. Secretary Kellogg favors a liberal law for the sake of amity between the two countries.

Adolfo de la Huerta, former provisional President of Mexico, and four associates, who were charged by Federal indictment on July 30, 1927, with attempting to violate the neutrality laws of the United States, were acquitted by a jury in the Federal Court of Los Angeles on Feb. 13.

A contract for the first domestic air mail service in Mexico was signed on March 2 by the Department of Communications and the Mexican Aerial Service Corporation. Ail mail service is scheduled to start on April 15 between Mexico City and Tampico and Tuxpam, ports on the Gulf of Mexico.

EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

THE Sandinista rebels continued during February to make trouble for the United States naval forces in Nicaragua. However, when they were reported to be threatening plantations near Jinotega and Matagalpa, British Chargé d'Affaires Patterson at Managua paid a formal call on United States Minister Eberhardt on Feb. 8 to ascertain what steps were being taken by American armed forces to protect the lives and property of British subjects near Matagalpa, and to serve notice that he expected the American Government to protect them. That afternoon a strong unit of marines was rushed to Matagalpa in commandeered automobiles.

First-hand authoritative accounts of Sandino's whereabouts and aims were carried to Managua on Feb. 9 by Carleton Beals,

a well-known American journalist, who crossed overland from Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to Sandino's camp at San Rafael del Norte. He was received with courtesy by Sandino on Feb. 4 and conversed with him for five hours. Beals made the following statement:

Sandinó declared that he could sustain himself indefinitely and that he would continue fighting as long as American marines remained in Nicaragua. Unless the marines were withdrawn, he said, he would no longer be responsible for the lives of American officials resident in Nicaragua. He also said that the American public may expect armed developments in Managua within a few weeks.

The following day Rear Admiral Sellers, commander of the special service squadron in Nicaragua, advised the Navy Department at Washington (Feb. 11) that

There is ample evidence that all the rifles that Sandino has were procured in Nicaragua from men who failed to turn them in. Sandino's ammunition is practically gone. In so far as Nicaragua is concerned, he is finished and is simply trying to escape.

In a sharp encounter with United States marines, Feb. 12, five rebels were killed and one was wounded. From Managua it was authoritatively stated on Feb. 13 that reports current in the United States to the effect that Sandino was fleeing to Honduras were unfounded.

Heavy reinforcements of United States marines arrived at Matagalpa on Feb. 12 and 13 and virtually established military law in the town. On Feb. 14 Sandino was reported to be moving northward, apparently having abandoned his intention to attack American plantations near Matagalpa. An offensive campaign from Matagalpa as a base was initiated by marine mounted forces, escorted by airplanes, on Feb. 15. Sandino eluded them and that night made a sudden thrust into theretofore undamaged territory, looting foreign property. Dispatches of Feb. 19 stated that General Sandino's forces apparently had vanished, but that anxiety had reappeared in Matagalpa because of the reported depredations within a few miles of that city of the Honduran General Ferrara and a large force of bandits. Contact with small bands of rebels was finally made by the marines, and in three encounters on Feb. 21 and 22, four rebels were killed and several wounded. On Feb. 29, however, a marine patrol was ambushed in a mountain pass and attacked by rebels concealed in heavy underbrush, with resultant losses of five killed and eight wounded.

The deadlock in the Nicaraguan Congress which developed in January over the proposed electoral law continued into February. The Conservative majority in the Chamber of Deputies, who fear the outcome of the elections if they are not supervised by Conservatives, finally rejected the electoral law that was proposed by President Diaz and approved by the Senate. This, in effect, gave Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, U. S. A., full powers to supervise and control the elections. In place of it the Deputies offered a substitute law that would reduce American electoral supervisors to the position of powerless observers. In view of these facts, American diplomatic and naval officials in Nicaragua were reported on Feb. 4 to have notified General Chamorro, the leader of the Conservatives, that there will be no back down by the United States, but

that in accordance with the Stimson agreement and as requested by both the Conservative and Liberal parties last May, they will guarantee fair elections next October. General Chamorro, however, was inflexible, and reiterated his determination to oppose American supervision and control of the elections, even threatening to have the Conservatives refrain from participating in the election in event of supervision. When told of his rumored deportation by the United States Government, General Chamorro was reported as saying:

Even if that could be done, it would not make any difference. The McCoy law would not pass! There is now a positive majority against it among the Senators as well as among the Deputies. My leaving would not effect that even though I am head of the party.

While the Nicaraguan Congress was still deadlocked over the electoral law the national convention of the Liberal Party on Feb. 19 unanimously nominated General José María Moncada and Dr. Antonio Medrano for President and Vice President, respectively. General Moncada was the Generalissimo of the Liberal forces during the revolution that was terminated by the Stimson peace plan last May. Dr. Medrano is a member of the Nicaraguan Supreme Court. In a formal statement of acceptance General Moncada heartily endorsed American supervision of the Nicaraguan elections.

Thus General Chamorro and the Conservative majority in Congress have gone on record as opposing the United States. On the other hand, the Liberals, who undoubtedly would be in power today but for the intervention of the United States in 1927, now count upon United States justice in the supervision of the forthcoming elections as their hope for unseating the Conservatives.

As a possible means of solving the existing crisis, the suggestion that the opposing parties choose a compromise candidate for President was urged with frequency in Nicaragua late in February. General Chamorro on Feb. 23 expressed the opinion that "a conference of the leaders of both parties at Washington would be the best solution of the whole problem." General Moncada said:

We can never accept such a proposal. The compromise already has been made and that is the Tipitapa agreement. We put our names to the compromise providing for free elections and laid down arms. Under this same agreement the United States promised free elections. * * *

There cannot be a free election if only one candidate is chosen in advance by a committee in Washington.

Señor Leopoldo Salazar, President of the Senate and an anti-Chamorrista and pro-treaty Conservative, succeeded in having himself re-elected as President of the Senate and then forced a recess of Congress until March 5, in order to enable the proponents of the law to endeavor to win over the recalcitrant Deputies. In the United States, Secretary of State Kellogg in a statement issued on Feb. 23 said:

In view of numerous tendentious rumors and newspaper articles, evidently of a propagandist nature, which have come to my attention, I desire once more to state with the utmost emphasis that the United States is maintaining and will continue to maintain an attitude of absolute impartiality in all matters relating to the forthcoming Nicaraguan elections. The United States will favor neither any candidate nor any party in that election.

All of its representatives in Nicaragua have been definitely instructed in that sense from the beginning, and this Government knows of no violation whatever of those instructions. Naturally we cannot accept any responsibility for rumors and newspaper articles of the character referred to.

The Nicaraguan situation was the subject of investigation by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 11. Secretary of the Navy Wilbur reported that 12 Americans and 156 Nicaraguans had been killed in hostilities since the present force of marines entered Nicaragua. He also stated that Sandino is the only disturbing element in the country and that fair elections can be held in October. Rear Admiral Julian Latimer, former commander of the American forces in Nicaragua, told the committee that he was convinced that the great majority of Nicaraguans wanted peace. Chairman Borah stated that "the great object is to have a fair election in Nicaragua. There is the beginning and the end of the situation. The outlook for that is very good." The committee was advised on Feb. 18 by Major Gen. John A. Lejeune, commandant of the Marine Corps, who had just returned, that in his opinion there would be peace in that country soon.

The United States policy there came in recently for sharp criticism from two United States Senators. In an address at Cleveland on Feb. 11 Senator Wheeler charged that in Nicaragua a war was being "waged privately by Calvin Coolidge in defiance of the Constitution;" that Nicaragua had been reduced from "a sovereign State" to "a Wall Street protectorate," and that the

Coolidge Administration had sacrificed 700 lives in Nicaragua. In the Senate on March 2, Senator Dill, in demanding the withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua, charged that they had been sent there at the request of American concessionists and denied that American lives and property in Nicaragua had been endangered. The Administration's policy was defended by Senators Shortridge and Edge.

After a careful inquiry into the financial and economic situation in Nicaragua, Mr. Harold N. Denny, *New York Times* correspondent in Managua, concludes that "dominance of American business interests which one might be led to expect from recent utterances in the United States" is not disclosed. According to Mr. Denny, in an article in *The Times* for Feb. 6, Wall Street's entire direct financial interest in Nicaragua is only \$185,000. Total American investments in the country are estimated at \$12,000,000, of which \$10,000,000 are invested on the east coast, principally in banana and lumber industries. The British rank second in business interests in Nicaragua; their investments, according to Mr. Denny, total \$2,500,000. Other nationals have scattering investments, largely in shops and in importing and exporting businesses. The foregoing estimates, which coincide with other recent authoritative ones, have the merit of at least revealing the maximum value of the American investments which were alleged to be threatened by the Liberal rebellion and the obligation to protect which was offered officially as partial justification for sending early in 1927 more than 5,000 marines and fourteen battleships to Nicaragua.

CUBA—The Cuban Government on Feb. 17 notified the United States Post Office Department that the *modus vivendi* extending the life of a parcel post convention with the United States would terminate on March 1. The action was interpreted by United States postal authorities as indicating a determination of Cuba not to renew the parcel post regulations unless the United States Congress repeals a law barring the importation of cigars and cigarettes in lots of less than 3,000. Under the existing arrangement that was due to expire on March 1, Cuba had a mail business with the United States in cigars in less than lots of 3,000. The Ways and Means Committee of the House, upon recommendation of President Coolidge, reported a bill to repeal the law to which Cuba objects.

Argentina Turning Again to Europe

By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN

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THE resignation of Señor Honorio Pueyrredón as Ambassador of Argentina to the United States since 1924 removes a very interesting figure from the diplomatic corps at Washington. It will be recalled that he came to this position with a long record of conspicuous service, having filled the position of Minister of Foreign Relations, President of his country's delegation to the Versailles Conference and to the first Assembly of the League of Nations. Lately he was President of his country's delegation to the Havana Conference of American States until his renunciation of the post immediately prior to relinquishing the post of Ambassador. In all of these positions Señor Pueyrredón served the ideal of absolute independence and equality of States in their international relations and of the right of Argentina to a part in world affairs.

The recent activities of Señor Pueyrredón lend weight to the rumors that Argentina intends to resume active participation in the larger activities of the League of Nations. The activities of the Argentine Minister to Switzerland at the Geneva gathering recently add weight to the rumors, more especially his direct attack upon the Monroe Doctrine. Of even greater significance is the report brought back by Dr. Gallardo, Minister of Foreign Relations of Argentina, from his recent visit to Europe to the effect that the members of the League of Nations are not only keenly interested in the economic and social development of Argentina but eagerly anxious to have her resume her place in the larger activities of the League at the earliest moment. Her movements are interpreted in certain well-informed circles as also foreshadowing her early withdrawal from the Pan-American Union in order to be the better able to work with the European Powers in wresting the hegemony of the Americas from the United States. In view of the attitude of the European Powers toward the United States, such an eventuality is not impossible. America will thus watch with greater interest and concern than ever the rôle played by Argentina in foreign affairs.

The friendly relations between Great

Britain and Argentina, as well as the growing interest of British capitalists in the latter country, were emphasized by the dinner given by the British Latin Chamber of Commerce in London, on March 6, in honor of the Argentine Ambassador, José Evaristo Uriburu. The occasion was marked by speeches of felicitation by the Prince of Wales and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill. The Prince, who spoke partly in Spanish, said that there had been an unbroken friendship between the two nations for more than half a century and stated that the cordial relations were bearing fruit in the commercial field.

BRAZIL—Few countries, if any, of South America take greater interest in the development of aviation than Brazil. Transatlantic flights, flights along the sea coast, and flights over the Caribbean have served to intensify that interest and to cause Brazil to provide for an expansion in that field. The two flights undertaken from the United States, one by Walter Hinton, the other under the auspices of the United States Army, have demonstrated the possibility of practical commercial aviation between Brazil and the United States. So, too, the flight from Italy to Sao Paulo, Brazil, by Riveiro de Barros, a Brazilian by birth. The interest in aviation was initiated by the military and continued by it, but recently efforts have been exerted in the direction of commercial aviation.

Thus far the most ambitious undertakings are proposed by non-Brazilians, notably by the French and Germans. The French propose a scheme which will ultimately result, so it is claimed, in a regular air service between Brazil and Argentina and southern France and Spain and northern Africa. It is also planned to extend this service to Chile and the Pacific Coast.

PERU—The Congress of Peru has enacted legislation creating two national banking institutions. The laws in question prescribe in detail the manner of establishing these institutions as well as the manner in which they are to be operated.

The first in importance of these two new

banking institutions is the Mortgage Bank of Peru—*El Banco Hipotecario del Peru*—or, as it will be called, the Bank of Peru. This bank is to have a total capitalization of 1,500,000 Peruvian pounds, the same to consist of 150,000 shares at a par value of ten Peruvian pounds.

The second banking institution created by the recent legislation is the Agricultural Credit Bank of Peru. It is to be known as *El Credito Agricola Intermediario del Peru*; and is a liability company organized by the same committee as above described for the Bank of Peru. The term of the existence of this bank is the same as for the Bank of Peru, and the rules governing the extension of its period are the same.

Unquestionably this action of the Peruvian National Government is in line with sound economic development, and should result in great good to people and the State. In any event it will be interesting to note just what the history of these two new institutions of Peru will prove to be.

URUGUAY—Uruguay has the unique distinction of having enacted a law which is the only one of its kind anywhere in the world. The law recently enacted by her creates a duality of citizenship, in that by this law the National Uruguayan Government is empowered to confer citizenship upon nationals of foreign countries resident in her territories, and without requiring them to renounce the citizenship of the country from which they came. The law also extends to these same nationals the privilege of serving in the military forces of the Republic in case it is involved in war with a foreign country. This privilege, however, does not extend to the nationals of the country with which she is at war. Needless to say, the enactment of this law has aroused keen interest throughout the world.

BOLIVIA—The efforts of a group of influential political leaders, many of whom were members of the Senate and the House of Deputies, to overthrow the Government of President Siles have miscarried. The alleged leaders of the plot were discovered and arrested. About a score of them were exiled to different parts of Bolivia. As a result of the alleged plot to overthrow the Government, President Siles reorganized the Cabinet. The following are members of the new Cabinet:

SEÑOR ABEL ITURRALDE—Foreign Affairs.

ALBERTO PALACIOS—Finance.

AURELIO ARAUZ—War and Colonization.

J. MINOR GAINSBORG—Government and Justice.

FELIX A. DEL GRANADO—Instruction and Agriculture.

CARLOS ROMERO—Public Works and Communication.

CHILE—The modifications in Chilean shipping laws may be taken as an example of the purpose of the Government of President Ibáñez to develop a merchant marine adequate to the need of that Republic. The Chief Executive began to consider this matter soon after taking office last year, with the result that he appointed a commission to study measures which would enable the national navigation companies of Chile to compete successfully with foreign navigation companies. The result was the enactment of a law, effective Jan. 1, 1928, which provides that the President of the Republic be authorized to invest a sum not to exceed 2,000,000 pesos annually for subsidizing national Chilean navigation companies that have maintained a regular service through the Panama Canal for three years. The law further provides that the President of the Republic shall have power to appoint a director delegate to these companies; and it authorizes the President to contract loans necessary for the acquisition of the boats needed in both foreign and coastwise commerce.

COLOMBIA—The new law promulgated Jan. 30, 1928, dealing with the oil industry of Colombia has brought a situation fraught with important potentialities. The rivalry between the British and United States oil interests in that Republic has been greatly intensified by this action of the Colombian Government, leading to a series of formal protestations by the latter interests being lodged with the Department of State in Washington. The charge is made that the new law gives too great powers to the Minister of Industries, since he is empowered to declare title to oil lands void when any doubt is substantiated and to let the lands revert back to the Government; that he has absolute control over petroleum developments in Colombia because of the right the new law gives him of granting or withholding permits to drill; and that the law provides no legal procedure for his decisions and that no time is fixed within which he must act. Of especial importance is that provision of the law by which it is declared that these powers of the Minister of Industries are final and no appeal can be taken from them to the courts.

The Government of Colombia has taken notice of these protestations and made a caustic reply, declaring that the consternation caused in the circles of the United States oil interests by the new law gives rise to the suspicion that these interests are operating on lands to which they have no legitimate title. The attitude voiced is that the sole purpose is to guard the resources of the State and to aid those who are doing legitimate business. The Minister of Industries has stated the official position as follows:

The Government recently published a report explaining each of the clauses of the Executive decree regulating the new petroleum legislation. Every acquired right will be respected. The study of property titles to be made by the Minister of Industries does not oppose the study which, at the proper time, will be made by the judicial power, which is the sole constitutional entity capable of rendering a final decision on the validity of such titles.

The Ministry can only declare, when titles are found to be defective, that the respective oil lands will be considered by the nation as its property, where the judicial power does not decide otherwise. This will not conflict with any legitimate rights.

I am surprised at the consternation you said has been caused among oil companies there, as the companies here have placed themselves under the provisions of the decree, and have applied for exploring permits under the conditions therein established. I hope that as soon as the text of the decree is known there all alarm will disappear.

The Minister of Industries concluded with a categorical denial of the charges that the Colombian Government and the Anglo-Persian Petroleum Company have made negotiations or commitments as mentioned in press reports. It will be observed that here is a situation very similar to that in Mexico and one that may cause the diplomatic relations between the United States and Colombia to become strained. Again it becomes a problem, therefore, to what extent a Government should be under obligation to aid its national operating in a foreign country. In view of the position taken by the Governments of Argentina, Colombia and Mexico at the Havana Conference on this matter, the whole subject is of more than ordinary importance.

VENEZUELA—According to the reports of U. S. Consul Alexander K. Sloan at Maracaibo, Venezuela, the oil industry of that Republic has enjoyed a very successful nine months' period—January to September, 1927. The plans for the present nine months' period call for increased activities

in every field where oil is produced. New tankers are to be supplied, thereby solving to a degree the transportation problem, especially in the Maracaibo Basin area. It is claimed that twenty-five new tankers will be available by the first of April this year, which will allow an additional exportation of 125,000 barrels a day.

The production in the Maracaibo Basin during the nine months was 13,946,139 barrels, as compared with 8,438,727 barrels for the same period of 1926. The largest exportation of oil from this region was reached in September, when it showed a total of 5,069,044 barrels. The Mexican Eagle Company, which has a contract from 1928 to 1934, is building a refinery on the island of Aruba which is expected to be open for business by May of this year. Increased activity is reported in the northern and eastern Falcon, in the Mene Grande field, the Lagunillas field and the La Rosa field. The Falcon Corporation has acquired new lands on the Lago Marine Zone approximating 25,000 acres, thereby increasing the holdings of the concern to about 400,000 acres, the greater bulk of which lie in the Maracaibo Basin and in the State of Monagas. The total petroleum exports of Venezuela for the first nine months of 1927 (January-September) totaled 37,288,594 barrels.

ECUADOR—Dr. Isidro Ayora, Provisional President of Ecuador, is, it is reported, still laboring for the larger welfare of his people and attempting to lay the foundations for a return to the constitutional form of government. Although he has been working to this end ever since the day in July, 1926, when he assumed control of the affairs of the Republic, he is not convinced that his people are prepared for such a step. He is said to be willing to call elections for the selection of a President and members of the Ecuadorian Congress, but he has not convinced himself that such action would be warranted at this time. An election for President of the Republic could be held with satisfactory results, for it is certain that he would be chosen to that high position by an overwhelming majority. The selection of members of the Congress who might be depended upon to carry out the Ayora program is a very different matter. There is, therefore, very little likelihood of an early return in Ecuador to the constitutional régime of government. In the meantime President Ayora continues to carry out his

comprehensive program of reform and will patiently await the necessary results. The most comprehensive of these reforms was that which grew out of the recommendations of the Kemmerer Commission. The resulting legislation—the new Monetary law, the formation of a central bank and the stabilization of the sucre on a gold basis—will go a long way toward the rehabilitation of the affairs of the Republic. And for this transformation he is willing to wait and to labor.

President Ayora is of Indian descent, democratic in habits, and a man of many attainments. He is a successful physician and finds time, in addition to the performance of the affairs of State, to practice his profession. That he is sincere in his efforts to aid his people seems to be unquestioned. "The spadework of Dr. Ayora," declares

F. F. Farrar in *The West Coast Leader*, "may be dull as compared with the dashing *coups de main* of other Presidents who live in the limelight, but it is a spadework which will endure. Quito is placarded with hygienic advice, one of which reads: 'The civilization of a nation is measured by the amount of soap and water which it uses.' Judged by that standard alone, the civilization of Ecuador is more advanced than that of many of the better-known Republics. The logical sequel is the application of the soap-and-water methods to public finance and public office." And Mr. Farrar concludes with the statement: "That is President Ayora's contribution to the history of his country. He is one of the few men of whom it may be truly said today that they are making the world a cleaner and a happier place in which to live."

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

India Divided on Boycott of Simon Commission

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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THE Simon Commission, which arrived in Bombay from England on Feb. 3, has begun and continues to prosecute its investigation of the operation of the present system of government in India. The bitter dissensions between Hindus, Moslems, the depressed classes, and the Anglo-Indian population as to whether the commission should be boycotted or cooperated with seem to furnish relevant evidence as to India's ability to use wisely an immediate extension of the powers of self-government it has already received. Otherwise these differences between Indians apparently have not affected the program of Sir John Simon and his colleagues. After a considerable stay in Delhi the commission proceeded upon an extensive journey of inspection. Wherever they went they were warmly welcomed by large numbers of Indians of all classes, while their presence was ignored or resented by others. No serious disorder attended their journey.

Four events stand out among the many incidents connected with the commission's stay in Delhi and their attempts to conciliate those Indian leaders who were incensed because Indians were not included in the commission. A proposal by Sir John

Simon that the investigation should be carried on by a joint free conference of seven Indian and seven British members presided over by the Viceroy was contemptuously rejected by the Indian extremists. The Council of State, the upper house of the central Indian Legislature, voted by thirty-four votes to thirteen to elect representatives to cooperate with the commission. The Legislative Assembly, the lower house of the Legislature, expressed itself in favor of a complete boycott of the investigation by a vote of sixty-eight to sixty-two. Warning was given to the Indian leaders by Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, and Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labor Party, the official Opposition in the British House of Commons, that the investigation would be pushed through and action taken regardless of whether Indians should or should not cooperate with the commission. In a speech at Doncaster on Feb. 17 Lord Birkenhead said:

I wish to make it as plain as I possibly can that either with the assistance of the Indian Legislatures or without their assistance this commission will carry its task to a conclusion. * * * Those who are organizing this boycott will, in my judgment, discover month by month how little representa-

tive they are of that vast, heterogeneous community of which we are now the responsible trustees. They will discover millions of Moslems, millions of the depressed classes, millions in business, and the Anglo-Indian community who intend to argue their case before the commission, and the commission will ultimately report to Parliament. If organized political opinion—a very small fringe in India—chooses to maintain itself in silent boycotting and aloofness, nevertheless the work of the commission will be performed. * * * I wholly misread the temper of the sophisticated, political intelligence of my countrymen if they [the Indian opposition] succeed in proving that India is ripe for an extension of the existing constitution by refusing in the first place to work for it and by declining in an organized boycott to examine its workings with a view to reform and possible extension.

Briefer, but equally indicative of the united determination of Great Britain to carry on along the lines established by the preamble of the Act of 1919 and extended by the creation of the present statutory commission, was the message which Ramsay MacDonald sent to Vernon Hartshorn, one of the Labor members of the commission: "It is reported here that if your commission were successfully obstructed a Labor Government would appoint a new commission on another and non-Parliamentary basis. As you know, the procedure now being followed has the full confidence of

the Labor Party and no change in the commission would be made."

The net results of the developments to date thus seem to be as follows: There is a wide divergence of feeling among Indians as to whether they should cooperate with the commission in its investigation or boycott it and refuse to accept its findings, no matter what they may be. The politically organized radicals have carried the boycott in the Legislative Assembly and intensified their demands for immediate home rule status as a step toward complete independence of the British Empire. In general, the Hindu politicians are uniting in a rather definite anti-British movement, while the Moslems and the representatives of the depressed classes are rallying to the support of the British procedure. The commission sought by every possible means to conciliate the Indian political leaders, but, having found this impossible, proceeded with their task. Great Britain, through the official spokesmen of both the Government and the Parliamentary Opposition, has plainly and forcibly declared that she will carry through her program, seeking the cooperation of all Indians who will work with her and disregarding the opposition of those who will not. Such a situation is fraught with possibilities of importance to both India and Great Britain.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—A newspaper war between publishing giants which many feared might drive a number of the independent provincial newspapers in Great Britain out of business and leave most of the organs of public opinion in the country in the hands of a few individuals was foreshadowed on Feb. 13 when Viscount Rothermere, brother of the late Lord Northcliffe, announced that the interests which he heads would establish a chain of fourteen newspapers in the chief provincial cities of Great Britain. This expansion into the provinces will bring Lord Rothermere into further competition with Sir William E. Berry and Sir J. Gomer Berry, who have long controlled twenty or more papers outside London, and who recently entered the metropolitan field by purchasing *The Daily Telegraph*. Both groups have enormous financial resources, and a struggle between them was not unforeseen by Lord Rothermere as shown in his remark that "Sir William Berry and his brother will be, I am sure, the first to admit the undesirability of any form of press monopoly and welcome ex-

perienced, powerful competition." Lord Rothermere's announcement also indicates that the new papers will possess the general characteristics that Lord Northcliffe developed in the papers which made his fortune. "Besides being informative," he said, "they will be entertaining; they will have special and unusual features which will bring the gleam of brightness into the day's routine. They will make a strong appeal to young people." Although the proprietor declared that his new properties will contain little politics, and no party politics, the Labor organ, *The Daily Herald*, envisaged them as organs of propaganda which would give the capitalistic classes an enormous advantage in British politics. Their work of molding public opinion would be carried on not openly through their editorial columns, but through the skillful selection and treatment of "news." Ramsay MacDonald went so far as to declare publicly that, "the situation is most alarming and the public should take steps to protect itself by legislation if necessary." Probably the Berry and Rothermere groups

will between them reach more readers in Great Britain than all other newspapers combined, a situation which may well give the public food for thought, especially as a period of intense competition between these magnates may make it impossible for a number of independent local papers to continue publication.

Ramsay MacDonald, in a statement to the press on March 4 declared that revelations which had grown out of the case in which J. D. Gregory, Under Secretary of the Foreign Office, had been dismissed from the Civil Service, another official permitted to resign, and a third disciplined for being improperly involved in speculation in French francs, made it urgent that the Government set up a Parliamentary committee to make an inquiry into the entire subject. The demand of the former Labor Prime Minister was based upon evidence that during the investigation into Gregory's speculations new information was brought to light concerning the famous Zinoviev letter and its publication on the eve of the elections of 1924. It was in these elections that the Labor Party was overwhelmingly defeated. Labor leaders have always maintained that their defeat was due in considerable part to the publication of the letter, which was to link them with Communist propaganda in Great Britain. They have further insisted that the letter was a forgery and was published as a result of a plot against them to which Conservative officials in the Foreign Office were parties.

In Parliament the Baldwin Government sought to carry through the program of legislation which it outlined at the beginning of the session, and to defend itself from constant Labor attacks upon the subjects of unemployment and the situation in the coal fields.

The fiscal year ended on March 31 with a surplus in the Treasury which seemed to justify the unusual measures which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill, incorporated into his budget a year ago.

A grave crisis in the cotton industry was averted on Feb. 17 when the organized employers invited the Labor leaders to a round-table conference on the state of the trade instead of announcing a reduction in wages and an increase of hours as had been expected.

The Conservatives retained their seat at a by-election in the Ilford constituency on Feb. 24. They polled about 10,000 fewer votes than at the general election, while the Liberals almost doubled their poll. In

thirty-nine by-elections since 1924 the Conservatives have lost eight seats, gained one and retained twenty-one.

IRELAND—Announcement was made in the British House of Commons on Feb. 21 that the Government had decided to compensate Irish Loyalists for injuries which they had received during the period of disorder which followed the treaty between Great Britain and the Free State. Winston Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that the advice of the committee set up in 1926 under the Chairmanship of Sir Alexander Wood Renton would be followed as to the amount of reimbursement to be allowed in each case, except that not more than £1,000,000 would be available in settlement of all claims. All awards up to £1,000 would be paid at once and in full. Of the claims in excess of this figure 60 per cent. would be advanced at once and the balance paid if at the end of the inquiry it were possible to do so out of the residue of the £1,000,000.

CANADA—The introduction of the Canadian budget into the House of Commons at Ottawa on Feb. 16 and the long debate which ensued gave evidence to the world of the rising prosperity in the Dominion and at the same time afforded an insight into some of the political and economic problems which Canada at present faces. "A spirit of hopefulness has been developed," declared Finance Minister J. A. Robb in his budget speech, "and as we enter the present calendar year one could not help but know that leaders of industry and finance emphasize that the present prosperous conditions sprang from the solid growth and solvency of the basic industries of Canada."

The prosperity to which the Minister referred was directly reflected in his budget estimates. During the past year, Mr. Robb informed the House, the national debt had been reduced some \$42,000,000, almost \$10,500,000 more than originally estimated. During the year to come he proposed to reduce the income tax rate another 10 per cent. and to lower the sales tax 25 per cent. (from 4 to 3 per cent.). The tariff would again be revised downward, the textile groups being chiefly affected by the proposed cuts. Despite these reductions, however, the estimates called for a total revenue of \$419,480,000, an increase of \$19,000,000 over last year. A large proportion of this increase was expected to accrue from customs and excise duties and the

income tax. The expenditures for the coming year were estimated at \$364,666,000, which would leave a balance of \$54,815,000.

The increases or decreases in the individual items of the estimates revealed much concerning the program of the Canadian Government. As compared with last year, increased provision was proposed for agriculture, immigration, war pensions, national defense, public works, national revenue and postoffice service. Reductions were proposed in the appropriations for national debt redemption (\$3,000,000), railways and canals, soldier land settlement and civil reestablishment of service men. That the recommendation of the Royal Commissions on Customs and Excise for strengthening these services will prove effective is indicated by the measure calling for an increased expenditure of \$13,000,000 on these departments. Significant of the new international responsibilities which Canada has assumed were increased items covering the Dominion's representation at Geneva and new appropriations for the proposed legations at Paris and Tokio.

Mr. Robbs' survey of the economic position of the Dominion was optimistic throughout. His estimates, he said, would "show conclusively that, notwithstanding our annual reductions in the rate of taxation, our revenues have been ample to meet fixed charges, take care of the ever increasing needs of a growing country and provide also for a reduction of debt." International trade also had been excellent during the first nine months of the fiscal year. With imports at \$823,000,000 and exports at \$970,000,000, Canada had enjoyed a favorable balance of \$147,-000,000.

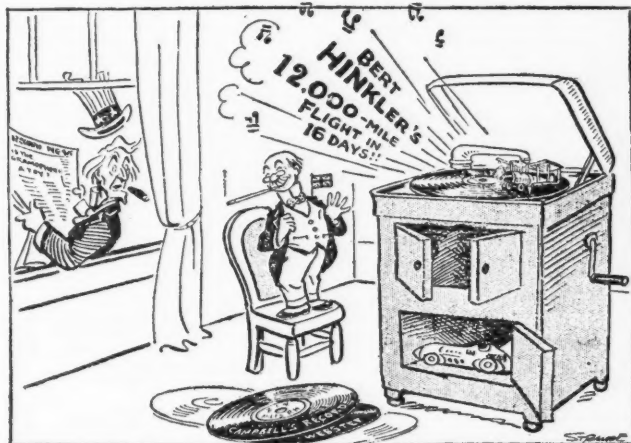
For more than two weeks after the introduction of the budget, debate in the House of Representatives turned largely on its provisions, much of the discussion being of a partisan nature. Conservative leaders attacked the Government for not having included in its statement of the national debt situation the information that the indebtedness of the national railways had been increased during the past year by \$42,-000,000, and now amounted to over \$2,000,000,000. The sales and income taxes, they declared, should never have been levied and should be

promptly abolished. The Liberal policy of tariff reduction was entirely wrong, and tended to benefit the foreign producer and manufacturer at the expense of Canadian agriculturalists and industrialists. The debate also showed the existence of serious concern over the large emigration of Canadians of Anglo-Saxon blood to the United States and the increasing proportion of Southern Europeans among the immigrants from across the Atlantic.

A USTRALIA—To substitute industrial peace and cooperation for the continuous bickering and frequent open warfare which has characterized Australian industrial relations in the past is the purpose of an Industrial Peace Conference called on Feb. 12 by the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. The trade union leaders have accepted the invitation of the Government and preparations are being made to secure a thorough discussion of Australia's labor troubles by the outstanding representatives of all of the elements concerned.

Great enthusiasm throughout Australia was roused by Bert Hinkler on his arrival in an airplane from England in the record time of sixteen days.

N EW ZEALAND—Unrest among the natives of that part of Samoa governed by New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations led the Government of that Dominion to dispatch two cruisers to Apia on Feb. 18. In announcing this action, Prime Minister Coates stated the sit-



"Fond of music, Uncle Sam? Then listen to this record!"
—Daily Express, London

uation in Samoa was serious, that any forcible action taken by the local police would be regarded as a signal for general retaliation by armed forces of the Mau (the native organization called unconstitutional and rebellious) against the European population. The police were not powerful enough to cope with the recalcitrant natives and it was feared that loss of life and property might follow steps taken to restore the normal functions of government without adequate force behind the Administrator. Reports from Samoa stated that the Mau police, wearing purple uniforms and carry-

ing clubs, regularly patrolled the streets of Apia to prevent Samoans purchasing goods in the stores of Europeans, and thus to enforce the six months' boycott which had been declared against those merchants. The open defiance of the Government followed the publication of the report of the Royal Commission vindicating the Administrator of Samoa, and the banishment of the three Europeans who were declared to have been the chief instigators of ill-will between the native leaders and the Government (See CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1928, pages 738-739).

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Poincaré's Financial Policy Approved By Chamber

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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IN the review of developments of the month in France published in the March issue, an excellent summary of the parliamentary situation was given, with especial reference to what the French press has called pretty generally the "Great Financial Debate," which resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Government. *Le Temps* of Feb. 11 gives the following tabulation of the vote taken on the motion of MM. Morel, Thomson and Sebille expressing the confidence of the Chamber in the financial policy of M. Raymond Poincaré, Premier and Minister of Finance:

Group.	Group Total in	For	Against	Not Voting	Absent
Radicals and Radical Socialists	128	98	9	15	6
Socialists	94	..	93	1	..
Socialist Republicans and French Socialists	39	26	2	9	2
Radical Left	35	34	..	1	..
Republican-Democratic Left	32	31	..	..	1
Independent Left	15	14	..	..	1
Republican Left	15	14	..	..	1
Republican-Democratic Union	96	95	..	..	1
Democrats	14	14	..	..	..
Communists	27	..	22	5	..
No group	26	25	1	..	..
Not listed	7	3	4	..	..
Totals	543	370	131	31	11

This summary will be of interest for several reasons. In the first place, it seems to show that opposition to the National Union coalition headed by M. Poincaré is badly disorganized and can rely in the last analysis only on the Socialists and Communists, with some scattering votes from other sources. In the second place, it will be enlightening to those who conceive of the present French party system as analogous to ours, a point which Professor Guerlac has emphasized, for as the French Parliament is now constituted, not government by party, but government by coalition, by alliance, is the only possibility. On this point M. Henry Franklin-Bouillon made some interesting observations in an article in the *Journal* of Feb. 17, from which we quote:

A party is, in theory, an idea, a method, a discipline; this presupposes leaders who have will, foresight, courage. That is the basis of the parliamentary system as the English have conceived and practiced it. It is sufficient to define it to show to what an extent we have disfigured it. In fact, we are now a caricature of a Parliament. And this is the result: Ten days of debate on the eve of elections in which the future of the country is at stake. Parties and individuals with only one thought: to cast off responsibility for the past and to vie in concealing the needs of the future. A game of electoral hide-and-seek, each party thinking only of increasing its forces at the expense of the party which is its neighbor. Voting against the Government at 6 o'clock,

for it at 7. Nothing exists but re-election. The National Union has saved the country, brought to the edge of the abyss by party politics.

M. Franklin-Bouillon foresees a repetition of this in the next Parliament, if the country "*n'en fait pas justice*" [does not remedy the situation]. To prevent a continuance of "bankruptcy of party government," he proposes the following: (1) A truce of four years (the term of the Chamber of Deputies) "in a spirit of absolute tolerance among all the governmental parties"; (2) no election alliances with "those who refuse the responsibilities of (parliamentary) power"; (3) no contact, direct or indirect, with "communism, the enemy of the nation and in the pay of the foreigners." In such an "atmosphere," he believes it possible to solve the problems of the future—stabilization of the franc, debt settlements (with revision of the agreements proposed, which are "absolutely unacceptable, in my opinion, in their present form"), readjustment of taxes that are too heavy and badly distributed, rational tariff policy, appeal to all the elements of production for professional association in management as well as in profits as an antidote to the class struggle, systematic development of public works, completion of military reform, defensive organization of the frontier, assurance of external security, "maintenance of all our alliances without abandoning any of our pledges, except upon a general guaranty of European peace," a genuine social policy (insurance, housing, hygiene, "protection of the family and the race") in opposition to revolutionary demagoguery. M. Franklin-Bouillon concludes: "We are to day facing criminal Communists, in the pay of the foreigner, who, not content with preaching the war of the classes, are taking their stand against the very idea of a nation. It is against them that we must act first." Then he offers as a rallying-cry to those who have the same cult, the same "religion" of devotion to France, the watchwords: "The nation against parties; the nation against the Internationale."

Franklin-Bouillon has been conducting an active speaking campaign in favor of his proposed truce and the retention of the National Union Ministry. He made a stirring speech at Toulon on Feb. 19 in advocacy of his plan. It is difficult to see how the voter is to express himself upon this idea of union above party, however, in view of the multiplicity of party labels and lack of homogeneity even in the parties themselves. One result may be that suggested in a dis-

patch to *The New York Times*, namely abstention from voting. In any case, there does not appear to be any uneasiness on the part of the Premier himself or any real dissension in his Ministry; and it would not seem unnatural to expect that whatever the fractional composition of the next Chamber, the Poincaré Government will be continued in power, if necessary with some minor changes in membership. Such a result would not be surprising if the evidence of the recent vote of confidence is reliable; and we must not forget two important factors; the apparent dissolution, almost without trace, of the old Left Bloc or "Cartel," and the real accomplishments of the Poincaré Ministry itself. In a little over eighteen months the Government has laid the foundation for the economic rehabilitation of France, reduced the internal debt and stabilized the franc at twenty-five to the dollar.

The elections have been officially set for April 22, with the second ballot (in case of failure of a candidate to obtain a majority) on April 29. Adjournment is expected about March 16, which will allow something over a month for the campaign. The system of proportional representation followed in the 1924 election, which necessitated rather involved mathematical calculations to determine the results in some cases, has been abandoned, and elections this year will be directly by *arrondissements*. This, by the way, is another factor that works in favor of the larger parties and indirectly perhaps to the advantage of the National Union coalition.

On Feb. 17 the Chamber of Deputies voted favorably on the Government proposal to abolish the 2 per cent. tax on imports of gold. A dispatch to *The New York Times* calls attention to the fact that the Bank of France for the account of the French Treasury has now accumulated abroad credits amounting to \$1,500,000,000. The dispatch continues: "Should Paris in any plan for stabilization or any other plan convert this balance into gold for importation, it would mean a considerable upset in the world's gold market. It was stated in behalf of the Government that the new bill was intended to make it less costly for the Bank of France to import gold. It was also said that the Government was looking forward to the day when Paris will assume again its position as one of the world's great gold markets. Taking it for granted that France will be able to exchange foreign credits against gold, one sees that with \$800,000,000 worth of gold which the Bank of France

has in its vaults it can put 100 per cent. gold back of the present franc circulation at the existing 20-centime value of the paper franc. The circulation is slightly less than 57,000,000,000 francs, which is about \$2,250,000,000 at current exchange."

On Feb. 25 a shipment of \$7,500,000 of gold left New York for Paris, which added to an equal amount shipped in January and \$10,000,000 forwarded in December gives a total of \$25,000,000 gold shipments in about two months. In addition to the shipments from New York, France has received large supplies of gold from other sources. These facts may or may not be of significance with respect to the hope of official stabilization of the franc. In this connection there is an interesting report that a delegation of representatives of the Bank of France, with M. Quesnay, chief of the economic section of the Bank, at its head, will shortly visit New York to confer with officials of the Federal Reserve Bank, apparently on the gold problem.

Unemployment shows a marked decrease over a year ago. For the week ended Feb. 14 official figures gave the number as 16,623, an increase over the 14,700 reported for January. A year ago, however, the returns were 73,632.

Tariff and foreign trade matters in general seem to share the centre of the legislative stage with governmental finances. Concern manifested by American and British oil companies over the terms of the Government petroleum legislation would appear to be allayed by a dispatch from Paris on March 3. The personal intervention of M. Aristide Briand, who appeared before the Petroleum Commission, seems to have "killed" the prospect of discriminatory legislation and to have brought about a return to the original licensing bill introduced in the Chamber last November. Under the terms of this old bill the American and British oil companies will be able to carry on under very much the same conditions as exist today.

The whole field of tariff legislation is of paramount importance in international dealings. The common American belief that our own tariff, for instance, is a purely domestic question, and our "high and mighty" attitude toward foreign criticism of it, will probably have to undergo progressive modification as our export trade develops and as we shall need more and more to dispose of our surplus products (already increasing rapidly because of greater efficiency and economy in production) in foreign markets. The development of European indus-



IN ALSACE—TEN YEARS LATER
"Beware! There's the enemy; drop that French flag!"

—Le Rire, Paris

trial "cartels" and the increasing use of tariff and other discriminatory trade legislation by foreign Governments as trading material for securing favorable commercial treaties may bring us to a realization of the necessities of the situation sooner than we expect. Something of this sort is apparently involved in the rather generous treatment of American products in the new general tariff measure now before the French Parliament, which was passed by the Chamber on Feb. 28. The French do not conceal the fact that they hope the mild treatment accorded Americans in the bill will have a friendly influence upon the United States Tariff Commission's inquiry into the question of lowering the duties on certain imports from France.

New commercial accords with Belgium and Germany were signed on Feb. 23, and at the same time accords signed during the last few months with Germany, Switzerland and Italy were ratified.

The French Parliament has also been giving considerable attention to war legislation. On Feb. 17 the Senate adopted the much-discussed bill prescribing the wartime organization of the French civil population. As passed by the Senate the bill differs from the text adopted by the Chamber on the important point that the Senate's interpretation of the measure does not provide for the requisition of the services of women.

Article 6 was changed to read: "All French citizens of masculine sex not subject to military duty will be employed in the national defense in the capacity in which they can render the most useful services." An amendment presented by Senator Voilin excluding old men and boys by restricting requisition to those between the ages of 18 and 48 was defeated by a vote of 257 to 23.

Article 24 of the bill declares: "Members of the Government upon whom devolves the direction of war, and members of Parliament, who represent the expression of national sovereignty in war as well as in peace, shall remain at their duties upon mobilization." A provision allowing legislators to enlist and vote in Parliament by proxy was rejected by the Senate.

Under an army reorganization bill now before Parliament, the French Army will consist of 523,769 men. Of that total, 240,000 will be one-year conscripts within France, 95,000 North Africans, 84,000 Colonials and 106,000 enlisted men and officers engaged for at least seven years. Of this last number 38,000 will be employed on instruction.

Prospects of difficulty with the separatists of Alsace-Lorraine seem to be reduced by reports of the ovation given Premier Poincaré on the occasion of his triumphal visit to Strasbourg on Feb. 12, when he addressed 559 Mayors of the Department of Bas-Rhin (Alsace) and made a speech which for eloquence combined with moderation

seems to have equaled his great effort in the financial debate. Appealing to their sense of union with France, he pointed out that bilingualism did not prevent Basques, Corsicans, Bretons and Flemings from being good Frenchmen, or French-speaking Belgians, Swiss or Canadians from being good Belgians, Swiss or Canadians. Just as France is not justified in interfering with Swiss or Canadians on cultural grounds, so the German-speaking countries should not interfere with Alsatians or Lorrainers.

On Feb. 26 clashes occurred between Communists and members of the so-called Fascist organization in Paris in which three persons were injured.

The Kellogg-Briand exchange of notes on the outlawry of war is discussed elsewhere in these pages. Mention should have been made, however, of the signing of an arbitration treaty with Sweden on March 3 and the settlement on the same date of the vexed Tangier question by the signing of a treaty with Spain which may lead to the re-entry of Spain into the League of Nations.

The Bank of France on March 9 filed suit in the Federal court in New York to recover the \$5,210,000 in Russian gold now held by the Equitable Trust Company and the Chase National Bank. The plaintiff bank bases its action on the claim that the metal in question was sent to Russia during the old régime and later seized by the Soviet Government.

EVENTS IN BELGIUM

FOREIGN MINISTER HYMANS, in an address to the Senate on Feb. 21, definitely aligned himself with Foreign Minister Briand of France on the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland, suggestions for which have been coming from Germany, notably from Herr Stresemann. He declared:

The balance of our budget and development of our national economic equipment still wholly depend upon the regular payment of reparations. M. Briand recently said that the French people took no pleasure in occupying the Rhineland. Neither has the Belgian people any reason to enjoy that occupation. But we are obliged to point out the necessity, not only from the viewpoint of Belgium, but of all Europe, for the maintenance of respect for the régime which has been established for the demilitarization of the Rhine territories.

We must further draw attention to the

great importance for Belgium of the question of faithful payment of reparations. No country was so systematically pillaged and wrecked during the war as Belgium, so that when Germany talks of terminating Rhineland occupation, which is one of the principal guarantees for the payment of reparations, we expect her to propose suitable guarantees in exchange. This question for us assumes vital importance.

A movement is under way to obtain an amnesty for Dr. August Borms and M. von Extergem, leaders in the so-called "Activist" movement established by the Germans during the war to split off Flanders from the rest of Belgium. Some 1,500 Activists have already served sentences, and about 150 are in exile abroad. If the movement is successful the latter would be allowed to return.

Austria Resents Italianization of Tyrol

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DURING the past month the attention of the world has centred on the long-brewing controversy between Italy and Austria growing out of the dispute over Southern Tyrol. From the middle of the nineteenth century, when the movement for Italian unification began, Italy coveted the "unredeemed lands"—the Trentino, Trieste at the head of the Adriatic, some of the Dalmatian coast—all held by her age-old enemy, Austria. It was Italy's desire to secure these territories and a natural boundary to the north that in large measure induced her to sign the secret Treaty of London in 1915. By its terms she agreed to support the Allies and was to receive in return Trentino, Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Gorizia, Gradisca, Istria, most of Dalmatia, as well as certain Mediterranean islands, a share in Asiatic Turkey, additional territory in Africa and a share in the indemnity from the foe.

While Italy failed to secure all that she had hoped for, or even bargained for, she was able as a result of the World War to incorporate practically all the "unredeemed lands" to the north, including the Southern Tyrol area. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of nationalism, the Southern Tyrol, like so many other borderland regions, contains a mixed population of about 400,000 Italians and 230,000 German Austrians. Instead of being scattered through the entire area, the Germans are concentrated for the most part in the Upper Adige Valley to the north and northwest of Bolzano. In fact, the population of the Upper Adige region is almost solidly German.

Italy, extremely nationalistic, and following the earlier example of her powerful neighbors—Austria, Prussia and Russia—at once set to work to Italianize the Tyrolese Germans within her borders. The schools were gradually Italianized, the Germans were ousted from political control of the municipalities, partiality was shown to Italian business men and German public signs were replaced with corresponding Italian signs. The Germans, anxious to maintain their *Deutschtum*, viz: their language, customs and institutions, have naturally resisted the process of Italianization.

The German press and clergy in the affected region have been outspoken in their opposition, and recently German members of the Diet of South Tyrol have caustically criticized the Italian authorities. It is this opposition, together with the attitude of Austria and Germany, which has precipitated the present crisis.

For some time the Austrian Government, though fully cognizant of the plight of the South Tyrolese Germans, pursued a "hands-off" policy. As complaints became louder and more numerous, it finally changed its attitude and on Feb. 23 the situation was discussed at great length in the Austrian Parliament. The initiative was taken by Deputy Kolb of Chancellor Seipel's own party, who in a long speech recounted the wrongs under which he said the Tyrolese were suffering. Speakers from the other parties in turn expressed the same sentiments as Herr Kolb. The climax was reached when Chancellor Seipel himself, in one of the most open and powerful speeches in his career, expressed sympathy for his oppressed brethren. Austria, he said, could not and did not wish to interfere in the domestic affairs of any other country, but she did have a right to discuss such affairs in orderly and duly elected assemblies and public gatherings. Austria, he further declared, was a free and independent country where free speech is recognized. His country, he went on to say, could not appeal to the League of Nations, nor could it directly take up with Rome the question of South Tyrol, but it could rely on something which is higher than international traditions and rights, namely, the conscience of the world. After the Chancellor's speech, which was received with great enthusiasm, the Parliament unanimously passed a resolution expressing sympathy for the German minority in Italy.

The press of Central Europe and the Balkans was almost unanimous in approving the Austrian Chancellor's speech, while Dr. Seipel and the Foreign Office were literally swamped with hundreds of congratulatory letters. Joy in Austrian Tyrol was unbounded. This gesture represented success, after nine years' work, to tens of thousands

of persons who had formed all manner of organizations to work for the relief of their countrymen subjected to Italy under the peace treaties. They had worked unceasingly toward this end, although they knew it was within the power of Chancellor Seipel officially to protest to Geneva, Rome or elsewhere. They sought to draw attention to conditions in South Tyrol by their own efforts, but accomplished little toward this end until Dr. Seipel made his speech and the world focused its eyes upon the lost Alto Adige. But neither these workers nor the Austrian Government anticipated that the Seipel address would go unanswered. On March 3 Premier Mussolini, in one of his characteristic speeches, vigorously defended the Fascist régime in the Tyrol. He declared, among other things, that Italy was a self-respecting State and as such could not tolerate foreign interference, that the Fascist Government had been extremely patient and forbearing in the administration of the Upper Adige region, that the German newspapers of the entire Bolzano region had tended to cause hard feelings by their insolent speeches, odious insinuations and vulgar insults.

In answer to the protests of the Austrian Parliament against the alleged mistreatment of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Upper Adige, the Premier declared that all reports about "systems of tyranny, brothers tortured and peoples slaughtered by the barbarous Fascist dictatorship, besides being false, are superlatively ridiculous. We are not the pupils of Austria, which for a whole century filled the countries of half Europe with executioners, filled the prisons with martyrs and erected scaffolds everywhere," he said.

The reports of Fascist atrocities were the mere inventions of a diseased imagination, the Premier declared. Only two persons of German nationality in the Adige were sent into forced domicile. One of them was almost immediately freed, and the other had the penalty reduced and "indeed would also have been freed, had it not been that a campaign in his favor was conducted abroad."

Replying to charges that Italy had done nothing to build up the Province of Bolzano, Signor Mussolini said that Italy had undertaken there gigantic public works and had spent hundreds of millions of lire in electrifying the Bolzano-Brenner Railway and constructing two great hydroelectric plants, one of 40,000 and the other of 270,000 horsepower, 195,000 of which would be utilized for private industry. This

represented a total Government outlay of 400,000,000 lire and the employment of 5,000 workmen.

All talk of submitting the question of "minorities" to the League of Nations is nonsense, the Premier declared, adding that if "Geneva entered such a labyrinth it would never succeed or emerge." His reference to the League of Nations, uttered with what appeared a sardonic smile, evoked some titters of laughter from among the Deputies who had crowded the Chamber in which he spoke. This reference the Premier emphasized, repeating: "The League of Nations? Geneva? What a hope!"

The Premier made his address, which was greeted with a storm of applause, only a few hours after he had marched in the funeral procession of Marshal Armando Diaz, whose victory over the Austrian army in 1918 gave Italy her present northern frontier. However, he made no use of the significance of the morning's commemoration, confining himself to a review of what Fascist Italy had done for her citizens of German blood and speech, and Italy's aid to Austria after the post-war débâcle. "As much as it is in our power we wish to be friends of the German world, whose good qualities we recognize, and whose contribution to human civilization we appreciate, but one condition, that of our safety—namely, the safety of 42,000,000 Italians—should not be put even vaguely in question. Furthermore, this is the last time that I shall speak upon this theme. In the future I shall let the facts do the talking." His peroration, "Let us make known to the Tyrolese, to the Austrians and to the whole world that upon the Brenner Pass all Italy, with its living and its dead, is upright and on its guard," was the signal for a storm of applause from the Deputies, who rose as one man singing "*Giovanezza*", the Italian hymn.

In Austria Mussolini's speech was received calmly. Commenting on it editorially Chancellor Seipel's own Catholic and clerical newspaper, *The Reschpost*, viewed the speech as a clear revelation that the most important difference between Austria and Italy on the South Tyrol question is a difference of viewpoint: "Austria demands liberty in the South Tyrol, and also elsewhere in the world, as a cultural national matter, not one of frontiers and a Government which has powers, whereas Mussolini sees in the South Tyrol agitation an attack on Fascismo and Italy. In Austria only the Socialists attack Fascismo

as such." "Austria realizes that State frontiers cannot always coincide with national and cultural ones, and Chancellor Seipel clearly revealed in the Parliamentary debate that Austria has no intention of meddling in Italy's domestic affairs."

Dr. Ernst Benedict, editor and publisher of Austria's great liberal organ, the *Neue Freie Presse*, in the form of an open letter to Mussolini, said:

In Saturday's speech you wronged Austria. The world knows you are a man of exuberant temperament, prone to the use of superlatives and exaggerated language, but why did you find it necessary to threaten Austria? You speak of an "Italy of 50,000,000, and Austria, what is she?" These words can mean only that you consider yourself strong and us weak. What do you mean this time by the use of the words "next time, deeds?" Why refuse us the only right which the weak have, namely, the right to complain? We cannot think a political athlete such as you is not able to find one frontier which is so weak you are ashamed to attack. You must realize you have wronged us, because you did not and can not refute Chancellor Seipel's arguments. Moral forces are on our side, and they are stronger than all the international law. But South Tyrol cannot alienate Austria and Italy. Peace we must have."

The conservative newspaper, the *Vienna Tageblatt*, commented on Signor Mussolini's speech as follows:

The arguments of the Duce are the arguments of the strong, but not strong arguments. They have no connection with the facts on which the complaints of South Tyrol oppression are based. There would be no complaint whatever if the Germans had even part of the rights which the Italian minorities enjoyed before the war in Austria. Mussolini errs when he suggests that the foreign races now living in the South Tyrol will one day be proud citizens of a big Fascist country. Measures of oppression and persecution have the opposite effect. He referred to economic improvement in South Tyrol, but according to his own figures less than 4,000 of the 250,000 South Tyrol Germans have the advantage and opportunity to learn Italian, although a knowledge of this language is almost a *sine qua non* necessity of commercial life there. All the economic improvements in the world cannot transform the German soul into an Italian one. Fascist Italy must recognize this elementary truth.

Incidentally Mussolini's first activity was that of assistant editor of an Italian anti-Austrian journal, *Pro Trentino*, in the Trentino district, for which activity he spent two months in an Austrian jail. It is also significant that class distinctions in the Southern Tyrol happen to be somewhat along racial lines, the middle class in the past being composed mostly of Germans, while the Italians composed the peasant and laboring class.

EVENTS IN GERMANY

DURING the past month the German political situation did not materially improve. By the middle of February it was quite evident that the serious split in the Coalition Cabinet, occasioned by the proposed school law, was destined to be permanent. In fact, the leaders of the two parties—the Centrists and the People's Party—which have fought each other to a standstill on the school bill, acknowledged that it would be impossible to adjust their differences. Though disrupted, the Government has managed to hang on, and there are many indications that it will continue in office until after the Reichstag is dissolved and the date for new elections announced.

The principal reason for this seemingly paradoxical situation is the determination on the part of President Hindenburg to get certain Government tasks completed. In fact, early in February the President wrote Chancellor Marx expressing the hope that the Reichstag and the Government would stick to their posts until urgent legislative matters had been taken care of. These included the budget, the supplementary

budget, war compensations, agricultural relief and penal code reform. In reply the Cabinet virtually promised the President to accede to his request. On Feb. 18, a few days before the Reichstag adjourned for the carnival holidays, the President informed that body that it was his earnest desire that the Reichstag enact emergency legislation before it dissolved. He also announced his desire that general elections be held next May instead of in March or April, as some political factions wished.

The President's plea to the Reichstag followed three days of wearisome wrangling, during which the Government Opposition, constituting a majority, threatened to force a dissolution. When the Reichstag reconvened on Feb. 27 there was every indication that President Hindenburg's wishes would be respected. In the absence of Chancellor Marx, who is ill, Vice Chancellor Hergt, Nationalist, explained in a long speech that the Cabinet had decided to carry out the President's wishes and pass not only the ordinary and supplementary budgets but also the measures for liquidation of war damages and aid for the suffering agricultur-



WHEN GERMANIA GOES OUT TO SHOP

—The Evening Times, Glasgow, Scotland

ists. Despite this assurance, however, it was clearly evident that even the Coalition parties were not united. Herr Guerard, floor leader of the Centrists, voiced strong protest against certain parts of the program and was supported not only by the representatives of the Bavarian People's Party but also by the spokesman for the Democrats. The Socialists and Communists objected on general principles.

Germany's adverse trade balance for January was the worst recorded in the last three years. Published figures show that the excess of imports over exports during January, 1928, totaled in value 508,000,000 marks (about \$128,000,000).

Labor troubles involving 800,000 workers in the metal industries were summarily ended on Feb. 21, when the Government declared binding the terms recommended by the Arbitration Court dealing with the conflict between the Central German metal workers and employers. The arbitrator had awarded the workers a 5-pfennig increase hourly, from 75 to 80 pfennigs, thus increasing the pay of the average man about 60 cents weekly.

The sentences given to three members of the "Black Reichwehr," the illegal military organization existing during and after the French occupation of the Ruhr, who were condemned to death for inciting to and committing murder, were changed to life imprisonment on Feb. 13 by the Prussian Min-

istry of State. A fourth, who also was facing execution, had his sentence cut to fifteen years' imprisonment. Several of the men most wanted escaped from the country before arrest.

AUSTRIA—The January returns of Austria's foreign trade show that the adverse balance, which was 66,000,000 schillings, or \$9,200,000 in the first month of 1927, was 99,000,000, or \$13,900,000 in January, 1928. This unfavorable comparison resulted wholly from the large increase of imports.

On Dec. 31, 1927, the dues-paying membership of the Social Democratic Party in Vienna totaled 386,602, a gain of more than 56,000 during the year, reports the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Feb. 5. The number of women members at the end of the year was 127,799. The total population of the Austrian capital is about 2,000,000.

The Viennese carnival season, which begins after Christmas and ends at Lent, has been the gayest this year since the post-war era began. It is an honored tradition for all Viennese to take part in the masked balls and street carnivals which fill the season, and more than 1,000,000 citizens, almost two-thirds of the population, did so.

SWITZERLAND — During the past month there has been considerable discussion in Switzerland over the so-called

economic zones. These zones, while geographically French territory, were formerly free trading areas for the city of Geneva. Their story dates back a hundred years to the Congress of Vienna, when, after the fall of Napoleon, all hands were against France and this territory was offered to Geneva as her own. She refused on the ground that it contained more Catholics than Protestants. It was then put under Swiss economic rule, while politically the French customs posts were set fifty miles back in all directions, so that, for instance, a

Frenchman traveling to his own Winter resort of Chamonix had to pass the Swiss customs at Annecy. The World War closed all the hotels in the region, particularly the great caravanseries at Evian. These the French turned into hospitals. The Swiss protested that such an act was a violation of the agreement. The French retaliated by immediately moving their customs posts down to the actual frontier, where today they face Swiss posts only a few yards distant. The feeling now is that while France has a perfect right to retain the frontiers she owes Switzerland some compensation.

ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Italy Stirred by Tyrol Question and Fascist Reforms

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE question of the rights of German minorities in the Southern Tyrol versus Italy's right to "Italianize" the inhabitants of her newly acquired provinces brought up recently by Austria and treated elsewhere in these pages, was apparently developed into a crisis by an order of the Italian Government issued last month that religion as well as other subjects must be taught children of the Southern Tyrol in the German language only. Previous decrees had made compulsory the use of Italian in the schools, and had allowed private instruction in German only by teachers authorized by the Italian Government, but this last decree extended the compulsion to the use of Italian in religious instruction. It aroused a storm of protest not only in the Southern Tyrol but also in the Northern or Austrian Tyrol, where the Catholic organizations took up the cause of their compatriots now under Italian rule. Previous appeals had been made to the Vatican; the present appeal, however, was addressed to Austrians and Germans. Indicative of the temper of the protest is the following:

We call upon you in a bitter hour. It is well known that the Tyrol fought for centuries for its Catholic faith. It is bitter enough to see two-thirds of the Tyrol incorporated in a foreign State, but more bitter that the new masters do not observe their promises respecting the customs and rights of the inhabitants of Southern Tyrol.

They have forced parents to send their children to teachers who do not understand the mother tongue of the children. That is not all.

The last step to complete the suppression is made: it is prohibited to instruct our young in the truth of our holy religion in our mother tongue. * * *

What occurs today in Southern Tyrol may happen tomorrow to the Catholics of other States.

Mussolini's reply to the Austrian strictures in the Italian Chamber on March 3 is referred to elsewhere in these pages.

In internal affairs during the last month an important step was taken in building up the Fascist régime. Three things are involved, the reform of the Chamber, a change in the suffrage and the regularization of the position of the Fascist Grand Council. The new laws which follow the lines already laid down [see *Proposals of the Fascist Grand Council in CURRENT HISTORY* for February] are embodied in bills approved by the Council of Ministers on Feb. 20. The reform of the Lower Chamber is based on two principles; first, its members must be connected with some branch of production, and, second, the Chamber must act as an organ of the State. The first is carried out by having the majority of the candidates named by the thirteen confederations of employers and employees. These confederations include agriculture, industry, commerce, sea and aerial transportation, internal naviga-

tion, banking and the professions. The second aim is secured by submitting the lists from the corporations—made up of 800 candidates—to the Fascist Grand Council, which is to select a body faithful to the Fascist régime. They are to choose 350 and to add fifty “from among the representatives of the moral, spiritual and political elements of the country.” This reduces the Chamber from 535 to 400. It also removes the Fascist Grand Council from the somewhat anomalous position which it has occupied since the march on Rome and makes it not only a powerful *de facto*, but also a powerful *de jure* part of the Constitution. Its position as the supreme organ of the Fascist Party is, in fact, compared by Minister of Justice Rocco to the position of the College of Cardinals in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. And since it is the Cardinals who choose the Pope, this statement, it is intimated, points to a self-perpetuating dictatorship and is significant as a hint as to what might be done in case it were necessary to choose Mussolini's successor.

The lists thus purged of undesirables by the Grand Council are then to be submitted to the electorate—but not to the present electorate, which is based on universal suffrage. Instead, according to the new electoral law as reported in the press—the official text is not yet available—the voting class is to be made up of the following: (1) Men from eighteen to twenty-one years of age who are married and have children; (2) Men who are of age and pay at least 100 lire yearly in taxation or are owners of at least 500 lire of State consols; (3) Civil servants; (4) Catholic clergy and ministers of other cults admitted by the State. The method of recording the vote is simple. All individual constituencies are abolished. There is only one ticket, and no opposition list is allowed. There is provision, however, in case the list is rejected, for new nominations within certain prescribed limits.

Changes in the Senate are less revolutionary. As at present constituted the members are chosen by the Government from a number of defined categories including bishops, high officials, civil, military and judicial, former Deputies of long service, large tax-payers, and men deserving of honor for services to the State. This list is to be revised to make room for the “political élite of the Revolution” and the age limit lowered from 40 to 35 years. The entire legislative body is thus, to all intents and purposes, made up of Government appointees, and completes an organization

which is a direct negation of the idea of popular sovereignty.

That most electoral systems are based on popular sovereignty is, according to Mussolini, their fundamental defect. In a long report explaining the new system, he said:

The masses are quite incapable of forming their own minds, much less of choosing men. Democracy, in other words, does not exist in nature. Where 100 persons gather they are fatally led by two or three individuals who drive them according to their own interests and their own inclinations.

The problem of government, therefore, cannot be solved by trusting in the illusory dogma of popular sovereignty, but it can be solved by the wise choice of a few leading spirits. If, however, the system of selection is not well organized, the unworthiest usually come to the top. To leave the choice of candidates to an electorate which is composed of an amorphous mass of heterogeneous individuals really means to abandon choice to a few intriguers.

Finally, all existing electoral systems neglect the reality of life which is that, isolated, individuals do not exist or have negligible value. Society is not merely a conglomeration of men, but the resultant of a series of minor groups which coexist organically. To ignore these minor groups means to have a totally false idea of social life. This is especially grave for those who seek in popular representation the perfect expression of the will of the people.

There is no doubt that an assembly composed of men who, owing to their origins and the way in which they are designated, are at the same time interpreters of the interests of the groups which compose the nation and the enlightened organs of great national interests, must necessarily find a place among the constitutional organs of the State.

Another measure of similar purport provides for competitive examinations for the position of secretaries, clerks and attachés to the Italian diplomatic and Consular services. The significance of this provision, however, is not so much the examination as the preliminary requirement of proved loyalty to Fascism. Moreover, it supplements previous measures taken by Premier Mussolini to purge the diplomatic and Consular services of all opposition to Fascism, provides a source from which posts may be filled in the future and is a further step toward the complete “fascization” of the Italian State.

Another important bill is that proposing to exempt from certain taxation families having more than seven children—a measure which, it is claimed, will benefit 35,000 families.

Meanwhile, the campaign against the Mafia continues. Prefect Mori has begun proceedings against 341 members of that



STILL EXPANDING

—Chicago Tribune

organization, and Premier Mussolini has announced a drive against bandits in the island of Sardinia, which is not far behind Sicily in the matter of crime.

Military operations against Arab tribesmen on the edge of the Libyan Desert have also continued. The fighting was reported to have been very severe, and the victory for the Italian troops to have resulted in the establishment of garrisons in two important groups of oases controlling main caravan routes.

Recent statistics show that Italy's population increased 409,000 in 1926 and 444,000 in 1927. Funds amounting to about \$25,000 have been subscribed for a scientific study of this increasingly difficult problem.

Labor problems are being handled under the Fascist Charter of Labor. A recent labor convention said to affect over half a million workers in the iron and steel industries was signed recently at the Ministry of Corporations by the chiefs of the employers' confederation and the workers' confederation. It classifies the firms as naval yards, engineering shops, foundries and steel works, and the workmen in grades from highly skilled to apprentices. It further provides for a minimum wage on the basis prevailing during the last three months of 1926, for piece work, and for the formation of a mutual aid association between employers and men.

Marshal Armando Diaz died in Rome on Feb. 29. A former Minister of War in Mussolini's Cabinet and delegate from Italy at the Washington Arms Conference, he was

generally known as the General who turned the tide against the Austrians in 1917.

SPAIN—Preparations appear to be in progress in Spain for a return to the League of Nations. Since the Pan-American Conference at Havana agitation to this end has increased, as it is felt that this is the best way of furthering political friendship between the mother country and the Spanish speaking nations of South America, and of giving to Spain a position of leadership.

An accord was signed at Paris on March 3 by representatives of Spain and France which sanctions, so far as France is concerned, the increased control of Spain over Tangier. The Tangier Zone is under international control, but after the Riffian War, Spain, in a memorandum to France, Italy and Great Britain, asked complete control of Tangier on the ground that it was necessary in order to enable Spain to maintain security in her own zone and to suppress contraband in arms. While the Powers were unwilling to grant to Spain all that she asked, they were willing that her share in the administration be increased. The above agreement is a step in this direction.

PORTUGAL—A delegation consisting of three members of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations—Dubois (Swiss), Melchior (German) and Sir Henry Strakosch (South Africa)—together with experts from the Financial Section of the League Secretariat, visited Portugal during February to investigate the recent request by the Government for endorsement of a \$60,000,000 loan. At the same time a document was lodged with the Council of the League, drawn up by exiled Portuguese political leaders, protesting against the granting of any loan to Portugal so long as the country is under a military dictatorship. Its language is by no means mild, as shown by the following quotation:

By its request to the League of Nations for a foreign loan, the dictatorial Government of Portugal is asking the League of Nations to make itself an accomplice in a crime against the Portuguese Constitution and to intervene in the internal affairs of Portugal in a way which will at the same time be in opposition to the wishes of the people and of legality, and will liberate the dictators themselves from the financial embarrassment which has resulted from their mistakes.

A step toward the legalizing of this Government is apparently to be taken by holding an election. It is announced for March

25 and the following regulations have been laid down: Candidates for the Presidency, it has been decided by the Council of Ministers, must be over 45 years of age and in full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. This provision excludes the possibility of any exiled politicians presenting themselves for election. Another condition is that candidates must always and solely be of Portuguese nationality. This excludes

those who hold British as well as Portuguese citizenship. The Presidential term of office will be five years and no one may be elected for more than two terms. The candidate obtaining the largest number of votes will be considered elected. The candidates will be self-nominated and must present their candidacy, signed by themselves, before March 11 to the President of the Supreme Court of Justice.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

Hungary and the Arms Question

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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BY all odds the most sensational and disturbing situation that Central Europe has known in the past year has grown out of the discovery at the Austro-Italian frontier station of St. Gothard [on New Year's Day] of five carloads of machine guns surreptitiously shipped from Italy to Hungary in violation of the Treaty of Trianon. If Premier Mussolini had said anything at all by way of regret for or condemnation of the shipment the affair might have been allowed to drop. Similarly, if the Hungarian Government had so much as alleged that there had been a mistake, that might have ended the episode. But the former only took advantage of the occasion to oppose the investigation by the League of Nations which was demanded by the Powers of the Little Entente; and the latter merely sought to dispose of the *corpus delicti*. Consequently, the difficulty grew steadily in importance as the month of February progressed.

News reached Geneva on Feb. 21 that, by order of the Budapest Government, the troublesome machine guns had been destroyed—beaten into scrap iron and in that form placed on sale as “uncalled-for goods.” Considering this a direct defiance of the League, and acting under instructions from the Chinese President of the League Council, the Secretariat wired Budapest asking that the sale of the “evidence” be delayed. The reply of Premier Bethlen was to the effect that, although the purchaser of the goods would be asked to leave them untouched for the time being, the sale could not be postponed; and he added that the Secretariat's request had been received

“with surprise” and denied that the powers of investigation vested in the League had any application to the present case.

While rumors of every sort circulated in Geneva, Paris and other centres—for example, to the effect that the guns in question were Austrian-made and, having formed part of the deliveries made to Italy under the treaty of Trianon, could have been shipped to Hungary only by the Italian Government itself, and also the story that the guns had not really been destroyed, but only hidden—discussion in official circles turned to the challenge to the League sounded in Count Bethlen's reply. In every one of the peace treaties concluded by the former enemy Powers with the Allies they agreed to give full facility for any investigation which the Council of the League, “acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary”; and the question of main interest came to be not so much the facts about the arms shipment itself as the consequences of Hungary's denial of the League's right of investigation—and, even more, the question of how Germany, for example, could be expected to recognize and acquiesce in such a right if Hungary were to be allowed to make good her contention. The Little Entente was bent upon an investigation; France was warmly backing her allies; Italy, whence the machine guns came, thought the interests of all concerned would be best served by forgetting the matter; Great Britain was watching developments silently but anxiously, while Germany was preparing to support the Little Entente's demand for an investigation.

Sentiment in Italy was decidedly pro-

Hungarian and anti-League. The *Giornale d'Italia*, which can be depended upon accurately to reflect the opinions of the Palazzo Chigi, denounced the League as an instrumentality of French-Yugoslav-Czechoslovak-Rumanian militarism, called the action of the "principal Powers" (meaning France) "ferocious and cowardly," and ridiculed the idea that the Little Entente with its 40,000,000 people and its backing by France is in danger from Hungary with its 8,000,000. "Needless to say," the conclusion ran, "that in this noisy comedy all Italy—people, newspapers and Government—will back Hungary. Not only duty and friendship but justice and honesty demand it. * * * It is manifest that the peace of Europe is threatened by the turbulent policies of strongly armed and greedy nations, which, after disarming and rendering impotent their small neighbors, continue to denounce them as a danger and succeed, moreover, in inducing some great Powers to accept their denunciations as justified." Nevertheless Italy eventually agreed to an investigation of the gun-smuggling episode. Hungary reciprocated Italy's friendly attitude in a demonstration at Debreczin on March 4, when Premier Bethlen made a speech in which he declared that the Hungarian-Italian treaty of friendship constituted an indissoluble bond between the two countries. Referring to the destruction of the arms at St. Gothard, he again asserted that that was an absolutely lawful act.

France, on her part, felt strongly not only that Hungary was displaying gross ingratitude, considering all that the League had done to put the country on its feet, but that the Budapest Government was persistently guilty of unworthy conduct. "We have only to say to Hungary," remarked the influential *Journal des Débats*, "that it is the Government that permitted the falsification of French banknotes and then acquitted the guilty, or gave them unimportant sentences and then remitted those. France also sees that the Bethlen Government organizes, or at least permits, the smuggling into Hungary of war material destined to destroy the peace treaties."

It was reported from Paris on Feb. 28 that the British Government, after a period of wavering, had decided to support the proposal for League action on the matter. It was understood that, despite recent evidences of considerable sentiment in Great Britain favorable to Hungary, Downing Street had come to feel that such defiance of the League as Premier Bethlen had evinced must not be condoned. With Great

Britain's backing, France and the Little Entente Powers, it was believed, would see to it that some action was taken—either that the interallied military control of Hungary which was lifted last September be reimposed or that a general inquiry by the League into the state of Hungarian armament be ordered, or—at the very least—that Premier Bethlen would be rebuked and the full investigative powers of the League reaffirmed.

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the election of Admiral Horthy as Regent of Hungary the Government on March 1 proclaimed amnesty for all prisoners held for political crimes and not sentenced to more than five years. The order affected several hundred persons, most of whom were serving sentences for writing or speaking against the Government or its officers. The amnesty did not apply to Baron Lajos Hatvany, who had recently been given seven years' imprisonment for writing against the Government and whose sentence was branded at a protest meeting in New York on March 4 as one of a "long series of outrages committed by the Horthy regime." It was stated at the same meeting that efforts would be made to make "uncomfortable" the visit to New York of the official Hungarian delegation of 520 members which left Budapest on March 5 to take part in the unveiling of the monument to Louis Kossuth.

RUMANIA—The diplomatic tour of Europe made by M. Titulesco, Rumanian Foreign Minister, during February attracted much attention and gave rise to many rumors, most of which seem to have been groundless. In the course of his trip the Minister held conversations with Premier Mussolini, Foreign Minister Briand and the German Foreign Minister, Stresemann, and there is little doubt that one subject, at least, was discussed in every instance, namely, Rumania's strong desire to float a loan.

Certain financial matters outstanding between Rumania and Germany are known to have been considered at the prolonged series of interviews which the Rumanian envoy had with Stresemann and Finance Minister Reinhold at Mentone and San Remo late in the month. The chief of these was ways and means of liquidating Rumania's claim against the Northern republic in regard to the German paper marks left in Rumania during the German occupation and which, according to the peace treaties, Germany is bound to make good. The same issue arose between France and Germany and Belgium



The Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs
interviews Mussolini
—*Izvestiya, Moscow*

and Germany, and in those cases has been adjusted. In the Rumanian instance, Germany has not denied the claim; but until the recent conversations, at all events, has not been prevailed upon to settle. The interviews at Mentone were suddenly interrupted on Feb. 24 when M. Titulesco received word that the former Rumanian Crown Prince, Carol, was en route to see him. Declaring that he did not care to make the young man's acquaintance, the Minister fled to San Remo, across the Italian border, where the German representatives rejoined him and continued the discussions. If the Prince sought permission from the Italian authorities to cross the frontier he evidently failed to obtain it.

The National Peasants' Party has continued to hold mass meetings and in other ways to prepare for the parliamentary elections which are understood to have been promised for April. M. Maniu and other leaders continuously attack the Bratianu Government as being incapable and unrepresentative, and as being kept in power

only through sufferance of the Regency and the gendarmerie, and they assert that all that is needed to insure its overthrow is a fair election.

YUGOSLAVIA—The most prolonged ministerial crisis in recent Balkan history kept the eyes of Europe fixed upon Yugoslavia throughout the month of February. The trouble started at the end of January, when the Democrats, unable to accept their Radical colleagues' plans for tax reform, withdrew from the Vukitchevitch coalition Cabinet, leaving it without a majority in the Skupshtina. The Premier took the drastic step of inviting M. Raditch's Croatian Party to take the place of the seceders; and when the invitation was rejected the King took the still more drastic step of commissioning M. Raditch himself to form a Government. The latter move created a sensation, for until now the Serbian elements had regularly had the upper hand and the Croatians had almost as constantly been found in the rôle of opposition. Vukitchevitch, however, stepped aside, and Raditch—whose party had only 130 to 315 seats in the legislature—tried to effect a coalition with the Democrats. Failing in this, he advised the King to allow the Democratic leader, M. Davidovitch, to try his hand. Again there was failure; and on Feb. 12 M. Vukitchevitch was invited to make another effort.

Hectic days of unsuccessful negotiations followed, and on Feb. 17 it was announced in the press that, in accordance with imperative instructions from the Palace that the country's welfare be placed above party bickerings, personal jealousies and childish quarrels, the leaders of the two former coalition parties—the Radicals and the Democrats—had agreed to unite in a coalition Government, at least for the time being. There was even a list of the persons to occupy the various portfolios. The next day revealed, however, that the announcement had been premature. On the rather minor issue of who should occupy Foreign Minister Marinkovitch's post while he should take a two months' sick leave, the leaders were totally unable to agree; and the deadlock had the curious result of causing the Premiership to be offered to the sick man himself.

Once more the result was failure, the Croatians (whose support was necessary) asserting that Marinkovitch was merely a Vukitchevitch wolf in sheep's clothing. Meanwhile M. Raditch had come into the limelight again with a suggestion, ardently

supported by his party, that the King should turn to a non-party man, preferably an army General, not only as a means of extricating the Government from the morass into which it had fallen, but as a step toward ending nepotism, alleged to be rampant among the State employes, and also with a view to grants of larger autonomy to the provinces—a thing in which the Croats have, of course, always been greatly interested. This advice was flatly rejected by the King, and after further parleying M. Vukitchevitch finally succeeded in forming a Government. As a result of his energetic attack upon the newly formed Ministry at the opening session of the Skupshchina on Feb. 29, M. Raditch was suspended from the next three sittings.

POLAND—Heavy polling marked the national election for the new Sejm on March 4. There were 2,000 candidates representing thirty-four parties for the 454 seats.

Though complete returns were not available at this writing, it was certain that the "Pilsudski bloc," a non-political party backed by the Government, would hold not fewer than 140 mandates in the new Parliament. In addition to those Deputies who are pledged to support the Government, Pilsudski has the support of other groups. The Premier's gain was the Nationalists' loss. The National Democrats, National Minority and the Right Wing Peasants' Party, forming the Witos bloc and three of the biggest opponents of the Pilsudski Government, returned apparently only about seventy Deputies, compared with 230 in the last Sejm. The Socialists won sixty-five seats, according to conservative predictions, meaning a 50 per cent. gain. The Radical Peasants' Party apparently gained ten and now has sixty seats. The Communists won about fifteen seats, which was far more than was expected.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Estonia's Ten Years of Independence

By MILTON OFFUTT

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THE Republic of Estonia, smallest of the buffer States along the east side of the Baltic Sea, celebrated on Feb. 24, 1928, the tenth anniversary of its independence. Faced at the beginning of their freedom by the same grave problems that confronted their neighbors—the necessity for expelling Soviet forces from their territory and establishing a stable form of government—the Estonian people overcame their handicaps and had good reason to feel content with the progress made by the new State in its first decade. Inexperienced in self-government and occupying a territory desirable agriculturally and for strategic reasons, the Estonians had to contend with the natural desire of the Soviet Republics to retain within their system so valuable a province and with the attitude of unenthusiastic doubt displayed toward their experiment in statecraft by the business men and the Governments of other Powers. For two years their position as an independent State was critical. The land had been invaded and in part laid waste by German armies in their campaigns

against Russia, and it was necessary for economic safety to start agricultural production again without delay, since the great majority of Estonians depended on farming for their existence. Before this could be done, the war of liberation had first to be successfully concluded.

In October, 1919, the Estonians believed they had found a solution for many of their troubles when the Government passed a radical agrarian law. The law provided for an actual agricultural revolution. Private ownership of large tracts of land was abolished. In order to understand the reasons for this act, which, of course, was not put into effect without strong opposition, it is necessary to go back to the abolition of serfdom in Estonia in 1819, some fifty years before a similar reform was made in Russia proper. But with the passing of their servile status the Estonian peasants received no land, and so their economic condition was little improved. Many years elapsed before the peasants, as a result of more enlightened laws, received the right to buy and own land, and most of the Esto-

nians could not take advantage of the privilege for lack of money or because of fresh obstacles put in their way by the large land owners, so-called Baltic Barons. So the lot of a large proportion of the Estonian population remained that of a poorly paid worker on large estates. How unsatisfactory conditions must have been can be estimated from a consideration of one of the results—between 1870 and 1910 about 300,000 Estonians emigrated. The normal population of Estonia today is estimated at about 1,120,000.

Before the World War, it has been estimated, 58 per cent. of the land of Estonia was owned by a small group of landholders who enjoyed special political and class privileges. This group, numbering only a few hundreds, many of whom were foreigners, not only held more land than all the other inhabitants of the country, but held the best agricultural land. An Estonian proverb summed up the situation thus: "On the mountains are manors, on the hills, saloons; farms are in marshes and swamps." It was this condition which forced the Estonian Government to take up agrarian reform with the least possible delay. Furthermore, as a consequence of the war, about a third of the large estates in the country had been abandoned by their owners to overseers, who were managing them badly. In addition, the Baltic Barons had formed a political group in opposition to Estonian independence and tending toward union with Germany, as was clearly shown during the German occupation and later during the war of liberation, when many of the Barons fought against Estonia. An additional reason for speedily putting land into the hands of the farmers was that this action would lessen the danger from Soviet propaganda.

Considering these facts, on Oct. 10, 1919, the Estonian Constituent Assembly passed the agrarian law. This provided that all estates of more than 330 hectares (825 acres) were to be alienated from their owners and would become the property of the State. The only large estates permitted to exist were those owned by cities, municipalities, charitable and scientific institutions and those occupied by cemeteries, churches and cloisters. As a result of this act more than 96 per cent. of the land formerly held in large estates was acquired by the Estonian Government. It was decided to distribute this property in small quantities among demobilized soldiers and landless peasants; some as farms on hereditary leases; some on long-term leases to

municipalities, schools, commercial and industrial companies, and some on short-term leases to private persons. All forests were retained as State property and the waste land and marshes were made into a State reserve which, it was expected, could be reclaimed and then distributed. The passage of this law and its successful application in spite of difficulties were, in the opinion of many eminent Estonians, the thing which particularly aided the new State through the critical period of its early life. In 1921 Estonia was admitted as a member of the League of Nations and by the end of 1922 was recognized by the Powers of the world. The United States accorded its recognition on July 28, 1922.

A further development of the agrarian program came in 1925, when, on June 16, a law was passed distributing the land on hereditary leases or by outright sale with a limit of 75 hectares (187½ acres) on land so disposed of to a single person. It was found necessary for the Government to assist by long-term loans many of the peasants who wished to set up as farmers, but by 1927 about 40,000 new farms had been created and the success of the agrarian reform seemed assured. At the present time 75 per cent. of the Estonian population is engaged in farming. The agricultural output of the country increased regularly after the agrarian laws began to take effect and during 1927 it surpassed the best results of pre-war years. In value it amounted to about 210,000,000 Estonian kroons, nearly three times the State budget and more than twice the industrial output of the country.

The question of compensation for expropriated owners was not settled until March 5, 1926, when a law was enacted providing for the payment to the former owners of the real value of the land at the time of its alienation. They had been paid for the inventory of their estates when the land was taken by the State. Compensation for the land was arranged for by payment in Government bonds maturing in sixty years and was to be paid to all former owners except those who, from Feb. 24, 1918, to Feb. 2, 1920, had been openly hostile to Estonian independence or had fought in the ranks of her enemies during the war of liberation. A group of expropriated owners who appealed to the League of Nations asked intervention to protect them and contended that the compensation was too small. The League denied jurisdiction in the matter.

OTHER EVENTS IN NORTHERN EUROPE

LITHUANIA—Relations between Lithuania and Poland continued to be abnormal. By the end of the first week of March no solid achievements designed to restore normal international intercourse between the two States could be attributed to either. Premier Waldemaras of Lithuania and Foreign Minister Zaleski of Poland each indulged in a self-justificatory recrimination of the other.

NORWAY—One of the first acts of the new Radical Government of Norway, which on Feb. 13 succeeded the short-lived Labor Government of M. Honsrud, was a proposal for a loan of 120,000,000 kronen (\$30,000,000) to be floated in the United States. On Feb. 27 the Storting authorized the Government to proceed with a contract for the loan by a vote of 77 to 56. The contract for the bond issue, which consisted of thirty-five-year 5 per cent. bonds of the Kingdom of Norway, was awarded to a group of four large American banking houses.

The short life of Norway's first Labor-Socialist Government was attributed to widespread criticism of that party's program, which included stricter taxation and the cancellation of the military exercises during 1928 as a prelude to complete disarmament. J. L. Mowinckel, elected to the Vice Presidency of the Storting in January, moved the vote of "no confidence" which caused the fall of the Honsrud Cabinet, and subsequently was asked by the King to form a Radical Ministry. M. Mowinckel was Prime Minister of Norway for a time in 1924. The new Ministry was announced as follows:

MOWINCKEL—Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs.

LUND—Finance.

VAERLAND—Social Affairs.

MJELDE—Public Works.

HASUND—Church.

OFTEDAL—Commerce.

EVJENTH—Justice.

AARSTAD—Agriculture.

ANDERSEN RYST—Defense.

FINLAND—In order to cope with constantly increasing smuggling and illicit manufacture of alcoholic beverages the Finnish Diet on Feb. 28 passed by a large majority several amendments to the prohibition law of Finland. The amendments, which come into operation immediately, rendered the prohibition code extremely rigorous. Their chief feature, severely criticized by many Finns, was a provision that any

one arrested with not more than two litres of alcohol in his possession might escape punishment by turning State's evidence against the person from whom the liquor was bought. Those who denounced this provision pointed out that it would tend to encourage provocation and make equality before the law an illusion. By the amendments the police were given greater powers to search private houses and increased control was established over the right of doctors to prescribe wines and spirits for medicinal purposes.

DENMARK—Iceland was considering the denunciation of the Danish-Icelandic Act of Union, according to an announcement made in Copenhagen on Feb. 25. The dispatch declared that the Icelandic Parliament, the Althing, had discussed severing the Union and that Premier Thorhallsson and the leaders of all Icelandic parties agreed that it should be brought about at the earliest possible time, in 1940. In 1381 Iceland, along with Norway, came under the sovereignty of Danish kings. Norway was separated from Denmark in 1814, but Iceland remained a Danish possession. Since Dec. 1, 1918, Iceland had been acknowledged as a sovereign State attached to Denmark only through loyalty to the personal rule of King Christian X.

LATVIA—A Conservative Latvian Government, headed by Peter Juraszewski, was formed on Jan. 14 after long negotiations with the non-Labor parties of the republic. The Conservative Ministry, which succeeded a Socialist-Populist Government that fell on Dec. 13, included, besides Premier Juraszewski, an extreme Nationalist, Balodis, a non-partisan, as Foreign Minister; Laimisz, an Agrarian, as Minister of the Interior; Kaminski, non-partisan, as Minister of Finance, and General Kalnins as Minister of Defense.

SWEDEN—The lockout of laborers in Sweden was extended to the paper mills, affecting some 60,000 men in all. Of that number about 43,000 were employed in the mining, saw mill and woodpulp industries. The men in the mines in Lapland included in the above figures declared a sympathy strike when the miners in the fields of Central Sweden were locked out. The Government's attempts at mediation were fruitless, the employees of the woodpulp mills having voted overwhelmingly against the proposal of the operators. In

addition a strike was declared by the civilian employes at the navy yards of Karlskrona and Stockholm.

Anna Bugge-Wicksell, Sweden's leading feminist and universal peace worker, died in Stockholm. She was a member of the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission. Last year she visited the United States to study American methods of educating the negro, with a view of utilizing American experience in the League's work among the former German and Turkish colonies.

For the first time since 1922 Sweden had a favorable trade balance in 1927. The total value of the country's exports amounted to \$431,870,476, while the imports were \$422,100,000, leaving a surplus of exports over imports of \$9,770,476.

A decrease of about 50 per cent. in arrests for drunkenness and a corresponding reduction in the number of insanity cases or deaths resulting from alcoholism have occurred in Sweden during the last twenty-five years, according to Ejnar Rosenborg, director of the Stockholm Liquor Dispensation Company, which manages, under the auspices of the Government, the distribution of intoxicating liquors. At the same time the National Association of Swedish Prohibitionists, gathered in session in Stockholm, issued a proclamation to Swedish men and women who will go to the polls this Fall to elect members to the Second Chamber of the Riksdag asking them to support only those candidates who are known to be firm supporters of prohibition. This resolution was adopted by 114 votes to 28.

THE SOVIET UNION

A Soviet Protest to the United States

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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OWING to the fact that the United States has not recognized the Soviet Union, the Soviet authorities are denied the usual means of diplomatic presentation. For American officials, of course, must refuse to receive any representative of the Soviet Government, even before they can hear what he has to say. When, therefore, Litvinov, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, wished on Feb. 6 to reach the American State Department with a protest against the judgment in the case of the "State of Russia" versus the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, he sent a telegram directly to Secretary Kellogg.

This telegram has so much bearing upon the question whether the United States Government should recognize the Soviet Government that it is given here at length:

According to information received by the Government of the Soviet Union, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York has passed judgment in the case of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, ordering said company to pay compensation to the owners of munitions destroyed in the Black Tom Island explosion of 1916. The above munitions included a quantity of explosives belonging to the former Russian Imperial and Provisional Governments.

Compensation for the destroyed property has been paid to a certain Serge Ughet, who

styles himself the representative of the said former Russian Government. In 1923, during the hearing of this case, the Court was presented with documents issued by the State Department in which the said Ughet was recognized as the lawful custodian of the property belonging to the former Imperial Government.

Moreover, this compensation has been paid on the strength of correspondence exchanged in Paris in July, 1927, between the United States Treasury Department and the said Ughet.

In connection with the above and taking into consideration the fact that Ughet had no authority whatever from the present Government of the State, previously known as the Russian Empire, the Government of the Soviet Union protests against the payment to a private person of money belonging to the former Russian Treasury, the application of which to any account can only be made with the sanction of the sole lawful owner of such money, namely, the Soviet Union as represented by its Government.

The Government of the Soviet Union considers the delivery of the above sum to Ughet as an irregular act and reserves to itself the full right of putting a claim for the sum upon the Government of the United States, it being on the strength of the latter's correspondence that the Court ordered the debtor to make payments to an unauthorized person.

Were one to consider only the facts presented in this telegram, the impression



THE RUSSIAN MOUNTAIN

Shade of Nicholas: "What does Bolshevik persecution taste like, Leon Trotsky?"
—Pasquino, Turin

might easily be gained that Litvinov had good cause for his pretension in behalf of the Soviet Government. But to obtain an objective view of the matter, one should recall other events in the past ten years. When the Czarist Government of Russia fell in 1917, the United States not only recognized the succeeding Provisional Government organized by Kerensky and his associates, but also lent money to it under the terms of the Liberty Loan acts for the prosecution of the war against Germany. And during the next three years, the United States advanced supplies on credit, for relief and other purposes, until the total principal of the debt chargeable against the Kerensky Government in Russia amounted to something over \$190,000,000.

In the meantime, attorneys for the "State of Russia" had brought suit against the Lehigh Valley Railroad for damages to war materials in the explosion at Black Tom. And also in the meantime, the Bolsheviks, who had overthrown the Kerensky Government in the Fall of 1917 and had organized the Soviet Government, had exercised their newly-acquired "rights of sovereignty" to repudiate the debts of the Russian State, in particular those international obligations

which had been incurred by the preceding Czarist and Provisional Governments—an action parallel to their nationalization of Russia's industries without regard to the interests of foreign investors.

Resting his decision chiefly, it seems, upon these actions of the Bolshevik rulers of Russia, Secretary Hughes, on Dec. 18, 1923, emphatically rejected the overture of Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, for negotiations looking toward the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities were given to understand that the United States Government would adhere to its policy of non-recognition of the Soviet Government so long as that Government refused to honor the international obligations of the preceding Governments of Russia and failed to give satisfactory proof that it had abandoned its subversive propaganda against the institutions and governmental system of the American people. This policy was to leave room for ordinary commercial relations between the two peoples; but, in the words of President Coolidge's message to Congress in the same month, the United States Government did not propose "to barter away for the privileges of trade any of the cherished rights of humanity" nor "to make merchandise of any American principles."

After these declarations there could be but one conclusion with respect to the legal representation of the Russian State in the United States of America. The United States Government would continue to negotiate with the accredited representatives of the only Russian Government which it did recognize, ignoring the fact that the Provisional Government of Kerensky and his associates was no longer the *de facto* Government of the Russian people. Its agents alone would be permitted to sue in American courts for the "State of Russia" and to collect whatever damages might be awarded.

Thus supported by the United States Government, the attorneys for Ughet, who had been left as the financial representative of the Kerensky Government after the retirement of Ambassador Bakhmetev, carried the Russian case against the Lehigh Valley Railroad through to completion in the Federal District Court in New York and obtained damages to the amount of \$984,104.62 in December, 1927. After deducting their fees, the attorneys for the "State of Russia," with the consent of its representative whom the United States Government recognized, turned over the re-

mainder to the United States Treasury as a part payment of the claims of the United States arising from the Russian debt. In other words, the United States Government allowed that Russian Government which

acknowledged its obligation to the United States Government to seek and to obtain damages in an American court in order that it might meet part of that obligation to the United States Government.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

IT is said that negotiations were begun in Berlin during February for the renewal of the Soviet's commercial treaty with Germany due to expire on April 1. In any case, reports came from both Moscow and Berlin that German commercial and financial interests were disappointed with the results which have been obtained from the present agreement and were rather reluctant to renew it.

A report came from Peking on Jan. 20 that the Soviet Government apparently was changing its policy with regard to the railroad problem of Northern Manchuria. The dispatch said that Moscow was offering, presumably to the Peking Government under Chang Tso-lin, all the money which might be needed to finance new railroad projects in Manchuria, at the low rate of 6 per cent., with the provisions, however, that the loans should be made through the Chinese Eastern Railway (over which Russia has control), that the construction and operation should be administered by the Chinese Eastern Railway until the loans were paid in full, and that if the revenues of the new railroads were not sufficient to meet the interest charges the Soviet should have the power to foreclose.

According to the news from Moscow in the latter part of February, the Soviet authorities had overcome their earlier misgivings and were confident that they would

be able to carry out successfully their program of grain collection for the year. But they were frankly worried by the indifference and, in many cases, hostility of the peasantry to the plans of the Government. There had been a marked reduction last Fall of the acreage sown to grain and there was prospect of less planting in the Spring. To counteract this tendency the Council of the People's Commissars, headed by Rykov, issued a decree calling attention to the situation, appealing to the Soviet press, the Communist Party and the State organizations to rouse public opinion to the necessity, insisting upon a prompt and adequate supply of agricultural tools, machinery and spare parts, declaring for a State supply of 6,250,000 bushels of seed grain to be distributed among the poorer peasants and an appropriation of 10,000,000 rubles to finance their venture. Equally significant to observers in Moscow was the appointment of Kubyak, one of the five assistant secretaries of the Communist Party and an official close to Stalin, to be Commissar of Agriculture in the Soviet Union. This move was interpreted to mean that the Communist Party was now to put its entire energy into the task of stabilizing agriculture and satisfying the needs of the peasantry, this being the chief political as well as economic problem of the rulers of the Russian people.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty Negotiations

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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SARWAT PASHA, the Egyptian Premier, called at the British Residency in Cairo on March 4 and delivered a note from the Egyptian Government stating that the draft of the treaty which has been under negotiation between Great Britain and Egypt during the past several months was not acceptable. Sarwat Pasha

next went to the Palace and presented to the King the resignation of the Cabinet. He was asked to remain in office until a new Ministry should be formed, and agreed to do so.

The failure to conclude this treaty may be traced back to the Declaration Concerning Egypt, which was made by the British

Government on Feb. 28, 1922, and the text of which may well be recalled at this time:

Whereas His Majesty's Government, in accordance with their declared intentions desire to recognize Egypt as an independent sovereign State; and

Whereas the relations between His Majesty's Government and Egypt are of vital importance to the British Empire, the following principles are hereby declared:

1. The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated and Egypt is declared to be an independent sovereign State.

2. So soon as the Government of His Highness shall pass an Act of Indemnity with application to all inhabitants of Egypt, martial law as proclaimed on Nov. 2, 1914, shall be withdrawn.

3. The following matters are absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt:

(a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt;

(b) the defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect;

(c) the protection of foreign residents in Egypt and the protection of minorities;

(d) the Sudan.

Pending the conclusion of such agreements, the *status quo* in all these matters shall remain intact.

This declaration brought to an end temporarily a situation of serious hostility between the British authorities in Egypt and the Egyptian people. Sarwat Pasha, who favored a conciliatory policy as regards Great Britain, was able to form a Ministry, which proceeded to prepare a constitution. Meanwhile, the Sultan of Egypt assumed the title of King and proclaimed the country a monarchy. Sarwat resigned in November and a constitution was promulgated on April 19, 1923. Elections were held on the basis of universal suffrage, and when completed in January, 1924, showed in the Chamber of Deputies a large majority for the Wafd, or Delegations Party, which was headed by Saad Pasha Zaghlul. Zaghlul became Prime Minister and pursued a strongly nationalistic policy. When Ramsay MacDonald became Prime Minister of Great Britain, despite his being the head of a Labor Government, he insisted that Great Britain could not relinquish the Sudan to Egypt or cease to guard the Suez Canal. He proposed a treaty between the two Governments, by which Great Britain would remain in the Sudan, but would guarantee a suitable water supply for Egypt; British troops must remain in Egypt, but they would not interfere with

the operation of the Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty.

Meanwhile, attacks upon individual Egyptians, often resulting fatally, had never entirely ceased. A climax was reached when on Nov. 19, 1924, Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor General of the Sudan, was killed in the streets of Cairo. Three days later Lord Allenby presented severe demands, which, besides those suited to the crime, included the payment of a heavy fine, the withdrawal of all Egyptian authority from the Sudan and acquiescence in such measures as the British Government might take for the protection of foreign interests in Egypt. Forced to agree to these demands, Zaghlul Pasha resigned the Premiership. For about two years the Egyptian Constitution was practically suspended. The influence of the British Government continued to keep Zaghlul Pasha out of the position of Prime Minister, and Adly Pasha took that position on June 6, 1926, at the head of a Coalition Cabinet. The new Parliament elected Zaghlul as President of the Chamber of Deputies. Adly gave way to Sarwat Pasha in April, 1927. The latter being distinctly *persona grata* with the British Government, it was strongly hoped that a settlement might be arranged of the four points reserved in the declaration of 1922, and that a treaty might be concluded between Great Britain and Egypt. Negotiations ensued during and after a visit of King Fuad to England, but the terms were kept profoundly secret until near the end of February, when it appears that a final draft was submitted by the British Government to the Egyptian Cabinet.

The main provisions of the draft treaty are said on good authority to be as follows: The treaty is both offensive and defensive; the British Government is to retain a garrison in Egypt for ten years, after which if no agreement is reached the question of army occupation is to be submitted to the League of Nations; the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1899 regarding the Sudan is to remain in force and Great Britain is to guarantee the water supply of Egypt; the British financial and judicial advisers are to exercise reduced powers; the capitulations are to be done away with and Egypt is then to be in a position to tax foreigners, and the Consular Courts are to be suppressed; the Egyptian army is to be reorganized after a British model, with an Egyptian Sirdar or Commander-in-Chief; should Great Britain become engaged in

war Egypt is to assist with all her power within the limits of her own territory.

The statement was made that the British Government had announced to the Egyptian Government that if the treaty should not be accepted the British Government reserved the right to deal in its own way with the points in dispute. The Egyptian Government seems to have reached the decision that it would be quite useless to submit the document to Parliament because it fails sufficiently to satisfy Egyptian aspirations.

It was expected that a new Ministry would be formed with members drawn entirely from the dominant Nationalist Party. Inasmuch as the leaders of this party consider the proposed treaty to involve a legalization of the British military occupation, the acceptance of the treaty or agreement upon a substitute would seem to be distinctly unlikely in the near future. The British Government maintains firmly the position that the protection of the lines of communication through Egypt is a major interest of the British Empire, and they can see no possible way of maintaining this protection except through the continued presence of a strong British garrison in Egypt. This attitude leaves the situation deadlocked, since the great majority of Egyptians feel that the presence of such a military force is incompatible with their country's independence.

The budget for 1928-29 contemplates an expenditure of \$207,500,000, against a revenue of \$187,500,000. The deficient sum of \$20,000,000 is to be drawn from the reserve (which amounts to about \$150,000,000) and is to be used for irrigation projects, extension of railway lines, loans to municipalities and so forth; \$5,750,000 is to be used for the establishment and financing of a much-needed Ministry of Public Health; \$1,000,000 will be added to the appropriation for education, which might well have much more.

TURKEY—President Mustapha Kemal Pasha was reported in the middle of February to be in a precarious state of health. It was announced later that he had retired to his farm near Angora in order to take a vacation. Denial was made that his condition was in any respect serious or that he contemplated retirement from office.

A Supreme Court convened on Feb. 10 for the trial of Ihsan Bey, lately Minister of Marine, and thirteen others who were charged with fraud in connection with naval contracts. The court of twenty-one mem-

bers sits publicly in Angora. Ihsan Bey introduced into the evidence a letter which he wrote some time ago to the President which, he stated, was handed over to Prime Minister Ismet Pasha, and contended that the accusation had been brought against him as punishment for statements in the letter.

In connection with the closing of the American School for Girls at Brusa, Miss Edith Sanderson of Berkeley, Cal., declared that she was solely responsible for the alleged dissemination of religious propaganda. The Turkish authorities, however, not only placed her on trial, but also the director of the school, Miss Jennie Jillson, who has been teaching in Turkey for twenty-four years, and Miss Lucille Day, who has taught at Brusa for four years. Students' diaries, introduced as evidence, contained references to the conversion of two Moslem girls to Christianity. Miss Jillson testified that she had not been aware of Miss Sanderson's alleged propaganda.

Apparently in order to show that no special hostility is entertained against American education, the Government granted permission late in February to reopen the American School for Boys at Sivas, which has been closed for thirteen years, and to open a vocational department at the American School in Merzifun.

The Soviet Arcos Corporation wound up its affairs on Feb. 16, leaving its interests in charge of the Soviet Commercial Legation. It was not stated that the closing was by order of the Turkish Government, but it was clearly related to the recent trials of Turkish Communists, some of whom were in the employ of Arcos. Although one defensive and two commercial treaties have been concluded between Russia and Turkey, it is interesting to note that the two countries have at present no regular exchange of diplomatic representation.

Another extension of permission to remain in Turkey has been granted to the White Russian refugees, according to which they will not be expelled before Feb. 6, 1929. It is estimated that out of nearly 100,000 Russians who took refuge in Constantinople after the Communist revolution, all have departed except about 3,000.

SYRIA—Ahmed Namy Bey, who has served as President of Syria during the past two years, handed in his resignation in view of the forthcoming election. The policy of M. Ponsot, French High Commissioner, is stated to be the permission of great freedom in the election of an Assem-

bly, which is to draw up, in collaboration with French advisers, an organic law for the country. A petition has been circulated and signed extensively in the Lebanon, requesting the abolition of Parliament, and contending that the Parliament is incapable, and that under the mandatory scheme it cannot obey the will of the people. It is held to be expensive and dilatory.

The High Commissioner is reported to have promised the abolition of press censorship and of martial law, together with an amnesty for all political offenders, except a few of the more important leaders. A federal organization is foreshadowed for the whole of Syria, with an ultimate treaty with France, which will look forward to progressive modification until at some future date Syria will attain full independence and sovereignty.

PALESTINE—Friends of Zionism contend that reports of crises and distress have greatly exaggerated the facts. They point to an increase in the Jewish population from 84,000 in 1922 to 158,000 in September, 1926, which number has diminished very little through emigration since that date. The Jews then formed 17.6 per cent. of the population of the country, being in a larger proportion than in any other land. In the same four years the land owned by Jews in Palestine increased from 600,000 to 1,000,000 acres, the latter figure constituting about 5 per cent. of the area of the country and including 11 per cent. of the cultivated land. Only about 20 per cent. of the Jewish population, however, lives outside the larger towns.

The Jewish National Fund spent \$570,000 in 1923 and \$1,400,000 in 1926. The Palestine Foundation Fund received \$3,250,000 for the year ended March 31, 1927. It is estimated that during the past ten years a total of \$55,000,000 of Jewish money has been spent in Palestine.

ARABIA—Contradictory reports from Jerusalem and Basra indicate considerable unrest in the Kingdom of Nejd and the Hejaz. A report on Feb. 17 stated that Sheikh Feisal ad Dawish had demanded payment of taxes from the Beni Sakhr Tribe on the eastern border of Transjordan. Upon being refused, he made a sudden attack, in which about 100 persons on each side were killed. On the same day it was reported that Sheikh Feisal had sent a messenger to the Sultan of Koweit, asking permission to trade under threat of an attack and the taking of goods "by the edge of

the sword." Sultan Ahmed is reported to have refused. Four days later a battle was reported sixty miles southwest of Basra, in which 2,000 Wahabis crossed the Iraq border and attacked the encampment of the Jawarin Tribes. The southerners were reported to have lost 60 dead and 200 wounded, but to have cost the Iraqis a larger number of casualties besides carrying off their flocks and herds. British airplanes from Ur pursued the raiders and bombed them, doing much damage, but losing one plane and its pilot. Later reports stated that 20,000 rebels against the authority of King Ibn Saud belonging to the Ataibah Tribe were preparing to attack Basra and Koweit. At the same time the Arabian Government was reported to have stated that between 7,000 and 8,000 rebels against its authorities had lost their lives.

A report from Jerusalem on March 6 stated that Ibn Saud had declared hostilities against the British Mandatory Territories in Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq. His troops were said to have attacked Akaba, which region the Arabian King had claimed to belong rightfully to himself. In view of Ibn Saud's well-known astuteness, a probable explanation of many of these reports is that he is actively engaged in subduing rebels, who rather than face his warriors are making trouble on various borders.

Friends of King Ibn Saud have been pointing out that in 1922 Sir Percy Cox agreed with him in the Protocol of Uqair as follows: "The two Governments agree each on its own part not to use the waterings and wells lying in the neighborhood of the frontier for any military purpose, such as the erection of forts and the posting of troops therein." The King is stated to have steadily refused requests from tribes in his dominions to build villages for agricultural purposes near the frontier. It is claimed that Busaiya, where the Iraq Government built a post, is much nearer than seventy-five miles to the boundary, and that the King protested in due time against this action.

IRAQ—Jaafar Pasha al Askari, after serving for a year as Prime Minister of Iraq has been reappointed Diplomatic Agent for Iraq in London, thus relieving Muzahim Bey Amin Pashashi.

The Persian Government has appointed as Acting Consul-General in Bagdad the former Cabinet Minister Mirza Hassan Ali Kahn Hadayat. This appointment has aroused hopes in Iraq that the Persians will soon formally recognize the Kingdom

of Iraq. Two difficulties have been standing in the way of such action. The Persians request that their subjects resident in Iraq should enjoy special privileges. The Iraq Government declines to agree because the number of such residents is very great. Again, the Persians feel that the Iraqi nationality law aims to put undue pressure upon Persians residing in Iraq to adopt Iraqi nationality.

Lord Cushendun stated in the House of Lords at the beginning of February that the British Government had never favored conscription in Iraq, even in the mild form proposed by the late Government in Iraq, which would have raised an army of only about 12,000 from among 3,000,000 people. He expected that after the new election no more would be heard about conscription. The Colonial Office was hopeful that the British expenditure in Iraq might be considerably reduced in the next budget.

Sir Alfred Mond, prominent British Zionist, paid a visit to Bagdad in the middle of February. Iraqi students took the opportunity to stage a hostile demonstration, thereby desiring to show their sympathy

with the Arabs of Palestine as against Zionism.

Troubles arose about the end of 1927 in the North as well as the South. The Kurdish Sheikh Simko with a band of hardy followers was reported to be engaged in brigandage in the neighborhood of Rowanduz. It was asserted that he was being assisted by Sheikh Ahmed Barzan.

Brig. Gen. F. D. Hammond, in a report on the railways of Iraq, published by the British Government on Jan. 17, states that only the pre-war section built by the Germans between Bagdad and Samarra, twenty-four miles in length, is of standard gauge. The remaining railways have a gauge of one meter. There is a line from Basrah to Bagdad, with branches at Ur and to Kerbela. A separate line, with communication only by ferry, runs from Bagdad to Khaniqin and Kirkuk. There is a tendency for trade to decline on account of river competition in Iraq and the use of other routes for Persian traffic. General Hammond recommends extensions and improvements that would cost about \$10,000,000.

THE FAR EAST

Japanese Election Fails to Provide Government Majority

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

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PREMIER GIICHI TANAKA reported to the Throne the following results of the first general Parliamentary election under the Manhood Suffrage law of 1925, held on Feb. 20:

Seiyukai, 221—		
Before dissolution.....	159	Gain 32
Minseito, 214—		
Before dissolution.....	223	Loss 9
Shinsei Club, 3—		
Before dissolution.....	26	Loss 23
Jitsugyo Doshikai, 4—		
Before dissolution.....	9	Loss 5
Labor, 8—		
Before dissolution.....	0	Gain 8
Independents, 16—		
Before dissolution.....	14	Loss 2
Vacancies, 0—		
Before dissolution.....	3	
Total.....	466	464

The figures were disputed by the Minseito, who claimed that Premier Tanaka had

appropriated for his party, the Seiyukai, members actually elected as Independents. The latter were those members who preferred to run on their own reputations, but who, while retaining the title "Independents," would affiliate with one or other of the principal parties. Although the Seiyukai, the Government Party, did not secure an absolute majority in the new House of Representatives, its gain of approximately thirty seats was impressive, and tended to bear out the precedent of success for the Government Party which previous general elections have set. The Seiyukai became the largest party in the House. It expected to have the support of the Jitsugyo Doshikai, and counted on a steady adherence of a sufficient number of "Independents" to give it a voting majority. Premier Tanaka declared that his Cabinet would consider

the election as an expression of the country's confidence in it and would continue in office. No date was announced for the convening of the Diet, which must occur, under the Constitution, within five months from the date of dissolution.

As an exhibition of interest among the new voters, as well as of steadiness, the election was a real success, for 9,711,000 men, 81 per cent. of the 11,987,000 registered, cast ballots. One observer remarked that the atmosphere of the polls was dignified to the point of solemnity, and that the voters seemed to regard themselves as taking part in a ritual in which the officials were the priests. The rural districts, as in the past, carried the day for the Seiyukai. The Minseito, stronger in the cities, polled the larger vote. The Labor Parties did badly, using their votes against each other, but they polled 447,000 votes in the aggregate.

Significant on the surface of the returns is the evidence they afford that Japanese conservatism is not a quality of the propertied classes alone. The number of candidates who offered themselves was 969, of whom the two larger parties mustered about 350 each. Of the 250 or more remaining candidates only thirty were elected. In circumstances that seemed to offer a rich field to faddist factionalism—9,000,000 inexperienced workers and peasants to enroll under catch-word banners—the results were directly to the contrary. The costs of election no doubt operated against a larger presentation of candidates by the farmers' and laborers' groups. This, however, would not account for the remarkable surge of the new voters into the older parties.

Reports of the campaign indicated considerable enthusiasm, but a practical absence of issues. As *The Japan Chronicle* put the situation, it was a fight between the "ins" and the "outs," with neither party daring to make promises that it might be called upon to fulfill, and with the Minseito fearful of engaging in damaging criticism lest it find itself in power, virtually compelled to follow Seiyukai policies. This was a recurrence of what has happened in

previous elections. The Minseito charged the Government with spying upon its movements and suppressing campaign literature. The proletarian parties protested against the break-up of their meetings by the police. Even when meetings were addressed by several leaders of opposing parties, the police did not hesitate to stop certain speakers, while allowing the others to finish their speeches. At one meeting 180 policemen were on duty. The Japanese newspaper *Asahi* complained that "it is by no means edifying to reflect that in all elections in Japan the police constitute the predominant factor in the control of elections." And the *Miyako* declared its regret that "with the stern measures of control adopted by the police authorities against the Opposition, the general election, which ought to be a pleasure to the people generally, is being turned into something both dangerous and disagreeable." The huge bulk of the conservative vote, however, reveals that as yet the proletarian party programs have not appealed to the voters, while its tendency to equal division between the two older parties also argues against the theory that police intimidation continues to control elections. In the past, bribery has played an important rôle, and special precautions were taken against vote buying in the recent contest.

The membership of the new House has a high average in regard to educational qualifications, 318 being professional men, of whom 243 are university graduates, the remainder holding diplomas from special colleges of law, medicine or business. Seven of the eight Labor members are university graduates.

It may be hazarded that the Government's close call—if, indeed, it be a victory at all—will influence it toward somewhat less aggressive policies. It may tone down its policy in China to a closer parallel with the conciliatory attitude of Mr. Shidehara, the Kenseikai Foreign Minister, who preceded Baron Tanaka, and it may turn Seiyukai minds toward a less protectionist program against foreign iron, timber and wool. Japan's greatest need is a stabilization of business conditions.

OTHER EVENTS IN JAPAN

THE Japanese Foreign Office has before it an informal proposal for a treaty outlawing war between Japan and the United States along the lines of the treaty at present under discussion between the latter country and France. Newspaper

opinion, quoted by *The Japan Chronicle*, concerning its practicability varied widely. *Asahi* thought that, "while it is comparatively easy for America to conclude separate treaties with France, Britain and other Powers, it would be supremely difficult for

her to conclude a multi-Power pact. Even if the Powers should consent to join such a pact they would insist on many reservations. An anti-war treaty with many reservations would be of no practical value, though its moral value could not be ignored." *Kokumin* also emphasized the danger of destructive reservations, but said: "At any rate, it is well for the Japanese Government to consider the proposal with good will when it is formally made. Certainly the American plan is the first 'diplomatic melody' of the New Year." *Yorodzu* favored a Japanese-American peace pact, since a period such as the present, endangered by no pending issue, would render an agreement possible without loss of prestige to either country. To disarm mischief-makers who contrive to magnify the immigration question and economic rivalry in China into causes for war the two "Governments should conclude a treaty to outlaw war." Such a treaty would "make it clear that all issues between the countries would be settled by pacific means." *Hochi* frankly urged the United States to join the League of Nations, while admitting the virtue of the present proposal. "It is, of

course, well known," wrote the editor of *Hochi*, "that domestic circumstances prevent America from joining the League, but it must be obvious to every American that the preservation of the permanent peace of the world is a more important thing than domestic political considerations." *Chugai Shogyo* does not object to the projected pact, but doubts its practicality: "As a matter of ideals, it may be a good thing to conclude an anti-war treaty first and proceed with the work of disarmament after the idea of peace has been sufficiently awakened in the minds of the Powers, but an ideal which is unworkable is no better than a fancy. * * * A wiser course for the Powers to pursue is to try to perfect the League of Nations and to devote attention to the solution of the question of armaments." Thus a bird's-eye glimpse of representative press opinion indicated no opposition to a Japanese-American denunciation of war, a general feeling that the mere denunciation would have only moral significance and the belief that Japan and America would find in the League of Nations a practicable agency of cooperation and avoidance of war between themselves.

EVENTS IN CHINA

RUMORS of war and plans of campaign took the place of war in the news from the military centres at Peking, Nanking and Kaifeng, where Chang Tso-lin, Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang, respectively, planned their early Spring overtures. The Peking group was thought to be concentrating on a campaign to smash Feng, now the most powerful single figure in the Nationalist camp, though badly handicapped by inadequacy of munitions. The Northerners have 200,000 men and plentiful supplies against Feng's ill-equipped 50,000. That Feng was able to keep men in the field at all appeared difficult to explain, since he controls no arsenals and no ports. Probably his breach with the Soviet Union had been less complete than appearances were intended to suggest. Feng also has his Nanking friends to help him obtain arms and Governor Yen of Shansi, who has an arsenal. Apparently either the journalists prefer the flesh-pots of Peking and Shanghai to military camps or the military men in the field object to journalists. Otherwise the guesswork that fills columns not only in American newspapers, but in papers published in China within a few hundred miles of the front is inexplicable. There is comfort in the belief, however, that any

highly important change in the military situation ultimately gets into the news.

The adjournment of the Nationalist Party Committee's conference, which accomplished little beyond the endorsement of Chiang Kai-shek, was followed by a meeting between Chiang and Feng at the latter's base, Kaifeng. With the troops of Governor Yen, Feng, Chiang and certain of Chiang's allies, the Nationalists—as they continue to call themselves, though the name has lost all meaning in the temporary dispersal of the party—count on 300,000 effectives. They plan to approach Peking along three converging routes, Yen attacking from the West, Feng along the Peking-Hankow Railway and Chiang along the Tientsin-Pukow line. This is the obvious plan of attack and the one used unsuccessfully last year. Recently General Sun Chuan-fang has come into control of Shantung, the rock that broke the Nationalist tide in July, 1927, and as Sun is a really excellent administrator and a good military leader, Nationalist prospects were not improved by his access of power at the expense of the brutal and vicious Chang Tsung-chang.

Another obstacle to success is the lack of unity in South China. Chiang does not

control Canton nor receive financial aid from that wealthy centre. The Generals at Hankow are openly unfriendly to him. A third factor is that of munitions. Can funds be found to keep 300,000 men supplied? If so, where will the munitions be obtained? Altogether, Chang Tso-lin appears still to be in the most advantageous position.

The Nanking Government secured a new Foreign Minister, General Huang Fu, who is Feng's man and was Premier at Peking during Feng's brief ascendancy there in November, 1924. General Huang stated his intention to secure treaty revision by diplomatic action, and that the Nationalist Government would "recognize all treaties or agreements concerning China made between or among the Powers, provided they are made with the participation of the Nationalist Government." This had a more conciliatory tone than previous Nanking manifestoes, for it appeared to leave the way open to contemporary negotiation by the Powers with Peking and Nanking if they so desired. Three recently dropped officials, Sun Fo, C. C. Wu and Hu Han-min, each liberally provided with money for his expenses from the Government Exchequer, were en tour around the world "to study political and economic conditions."

It was reported in Shanghai that the British Government had declined to admit the party into India, fearing encouragement of radicalism. The Nanking faction expected that the money expended by the party would be worth the publicity obtained.

Conversation proceeded for ten days between T. V. Soong, Nanking Finance Minister, and A. H. F. Edwardes, Acting Inspector General of Customs, regarding an agreed basis for the collection and division of customs revenues. It was understood that Mr. Edwardes proposed a blanket customs rate of 12½ per cent. and the division of revenue above that required for the payment of interest and principal of loans secured on the customs among the various factions. The Japanese Government was reported to be opposed to the increase and to the division of revenue. It was also believed to desire to secure the position of Inspector General for a Japanese on the ground that Japan's trade with China now bulked larger than British. No public announcement of settlement resulting from the Edwardes-Soong conference was made.

Sir Cecil Clement, the Governor of Hongkong, on March 2 was to receive the Military Governor of Kuangtung, General Li

Chai-sun, and a retinue with the honors formerly offered to Imperial Viceroys. This visit was reported to presage a new effort by Hongkong to deal with existing facts by treating Canton and the Province of Kuangtung as virtually autonomous. By re-establishing personal friendliness between Hongkong and Canton, irrespective of factional changes, it was hoped that the former very profitable trading relations might be restored. Governor Clement was to return Governor Li's visit on March 8.

Mr. Soong, Finance Minister at Nanking, issued a statement of intention to re-establish the salt gabelle in Nationalist territory. This news was of interest to foreigners who hold Chinese bonds secured on the Government's salt monopoly. The gabelle went to pieces during the disturbances of last year, and then passed into militarist hands. Mr. Soong now proposes to re-establish civilian administration, including a foreign element. Though he plans not to continue to earmark the salt revenues for the service of particular loans, but to develop a more modern system of handling all revenues and expenditures in one general budget, the Minister declared: "The Nationalist Government will not repudiate any of China's just obligations. Most of the obligations secured on the salt revenue are being made by payments from the customs. Wherever this is not the case the Ministry of Finance, as an earnest of its good faith, is making arrangements to contribute toward placing the salt loans on a basis which will provide ample evidence of its intention to fulfill its obligations." In this connection it may be noted that the statement of income and expenditure of the Nationalist Government for the period from June 2 to Sept. 17, 1927, showed an income of about \$47,000,000 (Mex.), of which nearly \$34,000,000 was secured by borrowing. On the expenditure side nearly \$41,000,000 went for "military expenses."

An echo of pre-extraterritoriality days was heard at Amoy on Feb. 9, when the accidental killing of a Chinese boatman by Chief Officer F. R. Willarts of the United States Shipping Board freighter Edmore aroused threats of a boycott on American goods. The cargo handlers struck and the Edmore was forced to delay her voyage for several days.

It is now possible to state that the Chinese maritime customs revenues for 1927 were 12 per cent. less than for 1926, though only 3 per cent. less than for 1925. All foreign loan obligations secured on the customs revenues were met in full.

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he has accused of Judas-like behavior and treason? No finer, more sincere or loyal sons are to be found in America. They have worked to produce the common truths which all Americans should know; they have given their time, their energy, their hearts to the great task of picturing for adults and children the true past of this great nation. They have made it possible for all Americans to get a glimpse of true greatness in action, that such greatness may become diffused; that the spirit which animated our unforgettable dead may also animate us, and become springs of inspiration to us to perform our tasks well and nobly. It is time for us to accord some measure of thankfulness and appreciation to our group of hard-working historians, Mayor Thompson notwithstanding.

Thirdly, as a result of this open discussion, it is to be hoped that there will be numbers of Americans who will appreciate their country more, numbers who will have realized the blessedness of freedom of the press and speech as never before; that our historians will be more fully appreciated; that a broader patriotism will result. We have gained much and lost only shortness of sight and superstition—which we have no right to regret.

Summing up: An American mayor, overzealous for his country's welfare perhaps, and in narrow thoughtfulness, has erroneously accused a group of our most respectable and gifted historians with an unpardonable crime. The reading American public will readily see through the tangle, as they always do, and all of us be much better citizens as a result. Our hats are off, therefore, to Mayor Thompson and the objects of his scorn for their indirect contribution to American understanding and stability.

DWIGHT M. CASTELLOE.

Norlina, N. C.

* * *

M. DEMARTIAL AND THE LEGION OF HONOR

As a sequel to the dispute in the French Senate over an article by M. Georges Demartial which appeared in *CURRENT HISTORY* for March, 1926, charging France with responsibility for the World War, an account of which appeared in "To and From Our Readers" in the February issue, the following dispatch from Paris appeared in the *Herald Tribune* on Feb. 16:

A commission of the Legion of Honor is examining the case of M. Demartial, an officer of the Legion, who is accused of treason because of an article he wrote for the American periodical *CURRENT HISTORY*. Demartial, who formerly was Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Colonies, now lives the life of a peasant

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recluse in the village of Mezy and devotes his time to writing. Demartial did not appear in his own behalf, but his lawyers urged the right of a serious student to intellectual independence, whether he wore the ribbon of the Legion or not.

* * *



Professor Henry Grattan Doyle, who with this issue of the magazine joins the Board of Current History Associates for the purpose of contributing the monthly chronicle of events in France and Belgium, was born in Somerville, Mass., on Sept. 22, 1889. After graduating from Harvard he was an instructor in Romance

languages at that university for four years. Transferring to George Washington University, he held a similar position there, being promoted to Assistant Professor in 1918 and to Professor in 1921. He has done a great deal of work in the field of Romance languages as editor, translator and writer, and is a distinguished member of various learned societies devoted to linguistic science. Professor Guerlac, whom Professor Doyle succeeds as Current History Associate, had, much to the regret of the editor of the magazine, to give up this work owing to the fact that he is going abroad for a lengthy stay.

* * *

THE INVINCIBLE MONTENEGRO.

To the Editor of Current History:

The recent letters, published in *CURRENT HISTORY* for December and February and signed by Milo Petrovich Niegosh of the Montenegrin royal dynasty, do not sufficiently explain the Montenegrin tragedy. The sole responsibility for the destruction of that little nation rests upon the heads of Serbian political masters and the Montenegrin officers who went over to the Serbian camp and received, for the betrayal of their country, large sums of money from the Serbian Government.

The Montenegrin people believed at first that a union of Montenegro with Serbia would eliminate material poverty from the country and would open a road to progress and prosperity. But nine years of experience have shown them that they were laboring under a delusion.

In spite of the fact that neither France nor anybody else recognized a Montenegrin national entity and the Montenegrin people, accordingly, were not given a chance to determine their own destiny but were forcibly subdued by the Serbian militaristic clique, the



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consistency and consciousness of the Montenegrin nation survive today. There is today a Montenegro that refuses to acknowledge any treaty or any League that nullifies her liberty and right to self determination, and that Montenegro is no less encouraged by the scientific outlook of the twentieth century than by the facts of history.

NICHOLAS PETANOVITCH NAIAD,
Editor of *The Montenegrin Mirror*.
San Francisco, Cal.

* * *

A TRIBUTE TO ADMIRAL BRISTOL.
To the Editor of *Current History*:

Very seldom do we find a man that has put a sound brain to such good use as has Admiral

Mark Bristol. As Presidential timber he is head and shoulders above all those who are now shying their hats in the ring. The description of him given in the article by Walter Hiatt in the February issue shows that he is in a class by himself. The President sent him on a business duty, and he more than fulfilled it. No shooting, no "bulldozing"—just finding out the real facts of the situation, many of which were hidden, and making good use of them. In my way of thinking he is above politics and should be given a large scope to exercise his abilities. The United States today is in need of such men.

FRED LARSON.

Fanny Bay, British Columbia.

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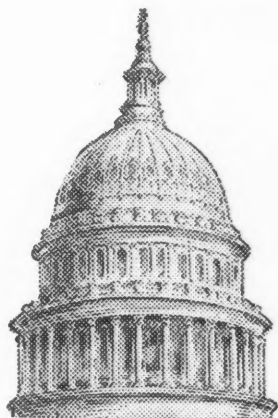
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The New York Times

World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

FOLLOWING a month of marked irregularity punctuated by several sharp but brief declines, the New York stock market rallied sharply with the beginning of March. The upward movement was initiated by a sudden buying movement in General Motors, which on March 2 broke through its previous point of resistance and on March 3 advanced over 5 points in the space of a brief two-hour Saturday session. On the following Monday the rise continued, with the volume of trading reaching the huge aggregate of 669,700 shares, one of the largest totals ever recorded for turnover in a single issue in a single day. Under such leadership it was inevitable that the upward movement should spread to the rest of the list; and other motor stocks, and issues which, like United States Steel, had been in the doldrums for weeks, were pushed up rapidly in an extremely heavy volume of trading.

The sudden outburst of speculative enthusiasm was all the more remarkable in the light of financial developments up to the end of February. Throughout that month the stock market was clearly under the influence of an unfavorable trend in the money market. As pointed out in last month's article, the sudden reversal of the easy money policy of the reserve bank authorities was a plain indication that interest rates might be expected to rise rather than fall; and compared with the levels prevailing at the end of January, the various classes of short-term loans at the end of February were, indeed, perceptibly firmer. Similar tendencies were also apparent in the market for long-term loans, as shown by the fact that the average price of forty representative bond issues actively traded on the New York Stock Exchange reached its highest level in recent years late in January and from then on steadily declined.

Not only was the tendency toward a somewhat higher level of interest rates plainly apparent throughout most of the month, but it seemed reasonable to conclude that for several months to come the influence of the reserve bank authorities would be in the direction of firmer, rather than easier, credit conditions, as plainly implied by a statement which appeared in the Federal Reserve Bulletin for February. How determined the reserve authorities are to carry this threat into effect is, of course, a question to which only the future can furnish the answer. It is apparent that there

are strong political influences favorable to both deflationary and inflationary action on the part of the reserve banks. On the inflationary side there are, of course, the Administration forces, who profess to believe that business conditions are as good now as they were a year ago, that brokers' loans are not unduly high, that labor is fully employed at high wages, and so on.

There are also, of course, powerful political influences on the opposite side. The action of the reserve banks in raising rediscount rates and selling Government securities was probably a direct result of widespread criticism of their previous easy money policy. In Congress this criticism crystallized in the approval by the Senate of a resolution offered by Senator LaFollette calling upon the Federal Reserve Board to take steps to restrict the flow of money and credits to Wall Street and to present recommendations for new legislation to correct present speculative excesses.

The testimony of financial experts before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, to which the resolution was referred, turned out, however, to be a boomerang for the advocates of deflation. The leading witness, Roy A. Young, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, presented a number of conclusions based on a study of the situation, among which the following seemed to hold the greatest significance: "If there is any action that can be taken to arrest the expansion of credit it has been taken by the board, for it took \$300,000,000 out of the market through the sale of \$150,000,000 of Government securities and failure to offset the earmarking or exportation of \$150,000,000 in gold, and through the raising of the rediscount rate. I am not prepared to say whether brokers' loans are too high or too low, but I am satisfied that they are safely and conservatively made."

The outlook at the middle of March, however, contrary to general expectations at the time the reserve banks began raising their rediscount rates, was that gold would continue to flow out of the country for some months to come. It is a foregone conclusion that France will in the near future convert a considerable portion of her huge balances in this country into gold "in France." Recent shipments amounting to some \$12,000,000 are an indication, indeed, that such a movement has already begun. And it is generally accepted in banking circles that the Bank of England is manipulating the money market so as to attract gold.

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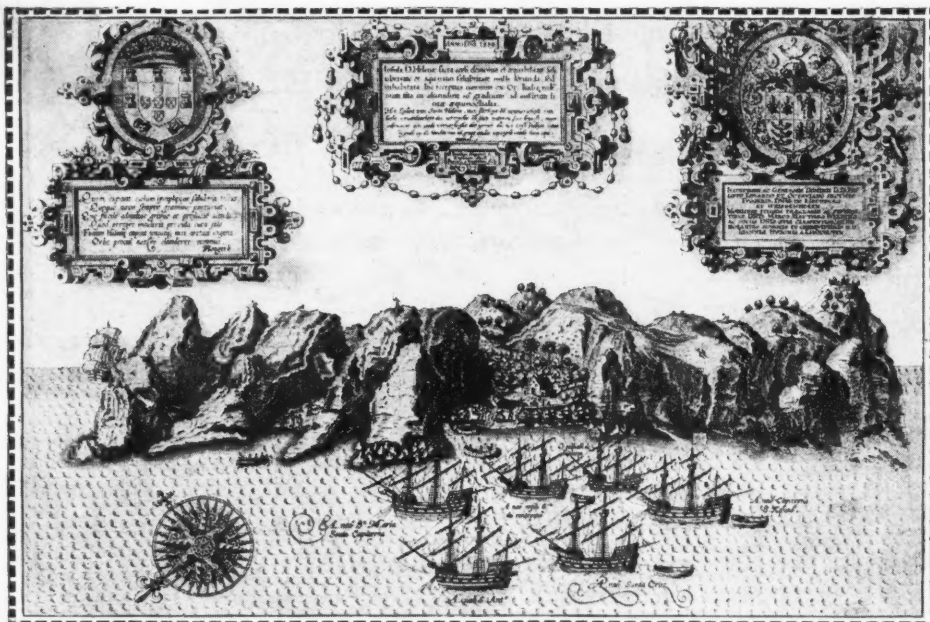
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CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XXI/III

MAY, 1928

NO. 2

IS DEMOCRACY A FAILURE?

- I—THE BANKRUPTCY OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.....*Wilhelm II* 175
Former German Emperor
II—WHY ITALY REJECTS DEMOCRATIC RULE.....*Benito Mussolini* 180
III—POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY A SUCCESSFUL REALITY...*Governor Albert C. Ritchie* 188
IV—THE HISTORIAN'S ANSWER TO THE AUTOCRATS.....*James T. Shotwell* 196
V—OFFICIAL TEXT OF THE NEW ITALIAN ELECTORAL LAW..... 202

CHINA AND THE POWERS

- I—WHAT HOPE FOR CHINA?.....*Major General William Crozier* 205
II—INTERVENTION A CHALLENGE TO NATIONALISM.....*John Dewey* 213
III—THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY POINT OF VIEW.....*Leslie B. Moss* 214
IV—SIX POINTS AGAINST INTERVENTION.....*A Distinguished American* 215
V—A CHINESE POINT OF VIEW.....*Kiang Kang-Hu* 216

OTHER SPECIAL ARTICLES

- NEW LIGHT ON GOETHALS AT PANAMA.....*William Hoster* 218
POLITICAL ISSUES IN PANAMA TODAY.....*J. Fred Rippey* 226
THE QUESTION OF A CATHOLIC AS PRESIDENT.....*John Allen Sweet Jr* 228
THE NEGRO'S INFLUENCE AS A VOTER.....*Herbert J. Seligmann* 230
JAPAN'S INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.....*Roderick O. Matheson* 232
ECONOMICS ECLIPSING POLITICS IN THE NEAR EAST.....*Josiah Edwards* 237
ZIONISTS' PROGRESS IN PALESTINE.....*Owen Tweedy* 241

THE TASKS OF THE WELFARE WORKERS

- I—OUTSTANDING BENEFACTIONS IN RECENT YEARS.....*Benjamin Catchings* 246
II—INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT IN ORGANIZED WELFARE WORK....*Paul L. Benjamin* 250
III—WELFARE WORK THROUGH INSTITUTIONS.....*Ellen C. Potter* 255

PORTO RICO AS PART OF THE UNITED STATES

- I—PORTO RICO'S DEMAND FOR STATUS OF FREE STATE (WITH TEXT OF PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S LETTER)..... 263
II—COMMENT ON PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S LETTER.....*Antonio R. Barcelo* 270
III—REPLY TO PRESIDENT COOLIDGE BY PORTO RICO'S REPRESENTATIVE.....
Felix Cordova Davila 273

- RECENT CONQUESTS OF MEDICINE OVER DISEASE (Recent Scientific Progress).....
Watson Davis 277

A MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
JAMES THAYER GEROULD
ARTHUR SWEETSER
WILLIAM MACDONALD
CHARLES W. HACKETT

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ARTHUR B. DARLING
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HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

FEATURES IN ROTOGRAVURE SECTION

BOOK REVIEWS:

AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD WAR REVELATIONS (Raymond L. Buell); LAWRENCE AND THE ARABIAN ADVENTURE (Ibrahim A. Khairallah); THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FROM THE INSIDE (A. M. Nikolaieff); URBANIZATION (C. Luther Fry); BRIEF BOOK REVIEWS

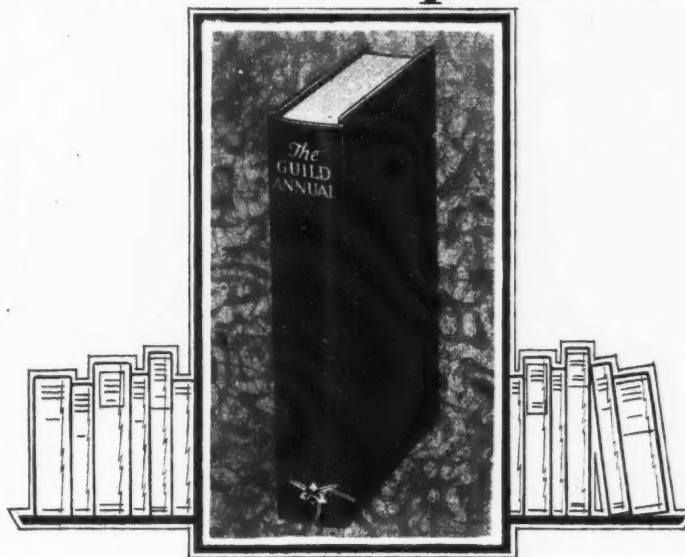
- RECENT IMPORTANT BOOKS.....*James Thayer Gerould*
TO AND FROM OUR READERS.....

- WORLD FINANCE.....*D. W. Ellsworth*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Vol. XXVIII

May, 1928

Number 2

An American Official Contribution to World War Revelations

By RAYMOND L. BUELL

RESEARCH DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK; FORMERLY A MEMBER
OF THE FACULTY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FOLLOWING the example of the Russian, German and British Governments, the United States is publishing its secrets about the origins of the World War.* They take the form of a supplement to the regular series of the State Department papers relating to foreign relations, the first volume to appear being that for the year 1914. It is to be hoped that the department will see its way clear to publishing in the present series correspondence relating to the negotiations of the Peace Treaties.

At a time when discussion over the Bryan Commission treaties and maritime law is in the air, the appearance of this volume is most timely. The first few pages recall the fact that the United States does not have these "cooling-off" treaties with Germany or with Japan, and there are cables in this volume telling why. On Feb. 19, 1914, Ambassador Gerard telegraphed Washington that opinion in Berlin was against such a treaty, "not on the ground that they are unfriendly to the United States but because if they signed with us they might be asked to sign by some European nation and if they refused that nation refusal would seem hostile and to sign would be to throw away the advantage Germany has as the result of great sacrifices in being European nation readiest for immediate and decisive blow in war." As the next six months proved, this was a prophetic statement. Japan likewise declined to accept the policy of these treaties apparently because of "the belief that the United States and Japan have conflicting views in regard to China. There is also always present strong dissatisfaction about California legislation intensified by fear that hostile legislation will be passed." Ambassador Guthrie likewise declared that "we can hardly hope for a favorable response at least until this fear is removed."

**Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1914. Supplement—The World War.* Washington: Government Printing Office.

The book proper is divided into four parts. (1) Correspondence dealing with the outbreak of war and projects of mediation; (2) correspondence dealing with neutral rights, in which the United States protested energetically against British interference with American trade; (3) correspondence relating to neutral duties, such as the conduct of Americans toward the belligerents, loans, armed merchant ships, and so forth; (4) correspondence in regard to other problems of a miscellaneous character.

The correspondence relating to the efforts of the United States to mediate between the Central and the Allied Powers is full of interest. The anti-war-guilt historians may find further ammunition for their thesis in the fact that, while Germany agreed to accept American mediation, France declined to do so. No machinery existed compelling these States to submit their disputes to investigation.

Although the public has long been aware of the divergence of opinion between the United States and Great Britain over the question of neutral rights on the sea between 1914 and 1917, the present volume shows the real tenacity of feeling between the two Governments which this divergence aroused. The issue arose primarily over the principles defined in the Declaration of London of 1908 which only the United States had ratified. Upon the outbreak of war the United States suggested that the belligerents follow the Declaration. On Aug. 7 Germany and Austria gave an affirmative reply. But the British Government which, because of its maritime situation, had more at stake on the sea than Germany, declined to approve the Declaration except with important modifications that the United States would not accept.

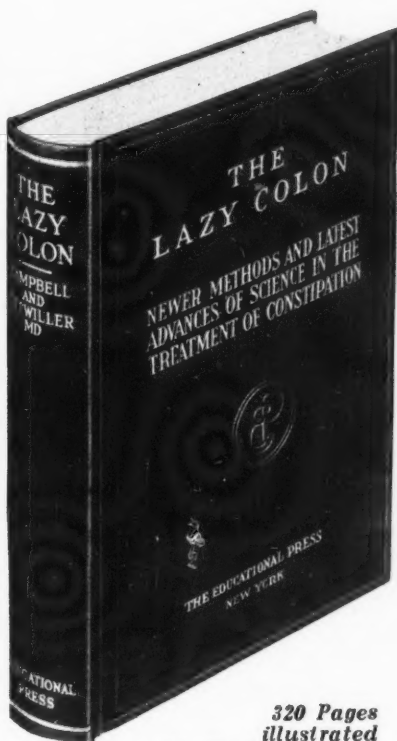
The situation became tense over a British Order-in-Council making food absolute contraband. As a result of an interview between Secretary Lansing and Ambassador Sir Cecil Spring-Rice this order was modified. During

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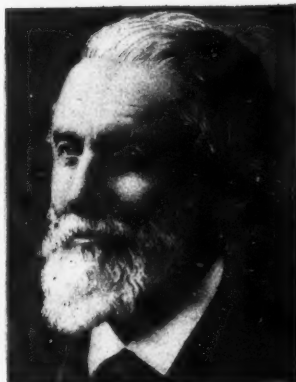


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the controversy Ambassador Page showed great sympathy for the British point of view. In a telegram of Oct. 15, 1914, he said: "The British Government has yielded without question to all our requests and has shown a sincere desire to meet all our wishes short of admitting war materials into Germany. That it will not yield. We would not yield it if we were in their place. * * * The question seems wholly different here from what it probably seems in Washington. There it is a more or less academic discussion. Here it is a matter of life and death for English-speaking civilization. * * * I do not believe that our neutrality obligations require us to demand that Great Britain should adopt for our benefit the Declaration of London, which has never been ratified by Great Britain or any other nation except the United States and the effect of which * * * is altogether to the advantage of Germany."

In reply Secretary Lansing said that the United States fully understood the position of the British and was not disposed to place obstacles in their way. He made the interesting suggestion that the British Government accept the Declaration of London without change, followed by a proclamation adding articles to the list of contraband by virtue of authority conferred by Articles 23 and 25 of the Declaration. The British Government should then declare that, when in its opinion a port or territory of a neutral country was being used as a base for the transit of supplies for an enemy Government, such territory would be regarded as having acquired enemy character in so far as trade in contraband is concerned, and that vessels trading therewith should be thereafter subject to rules governing trade to enemy's territory.

Sir Edward Grey declined to accept any such compromise on the ground that it would be illegal. The British Government repeatedly insisted during the controversy that it had no desire to interrupt the legitimate trade of the United States with neutral countries but merely trade which went from the United States to these countries en route to belligerents. The situation was somewhat relieved when, on Oct. 22, 1914, the United States Government withdrew its suggestion in regard to the adoption of the Declaration of London, but insisted that the rights and duties of American citizens would be defined by existing rules of international law.

It is interesting to note that the Peruvian Government suggested that the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union guarantee the inviolability of American commerce within a maritime area marked by a line equidistant from the other continents on both the Pacific and Atlantic sides. In other words, it pro-

posed the establishment of a League of Neutrals. The Union adopted the idea only to the extent of appointing a committee to study the problem.

After reading this correspondence it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that there is no agreement as "to existing rules of international law." There was a body of custom which some nations had recognized and others ignored. In domestic law there are courts which decide with finality whether or not custom has the force of law. But in international law there is no court with such jurisdiction. The reduction of maritime law to treaty form would greatly simplify the problem were this possible; but in view of the fundamental divergence in views between the maritime and continental nations, and the movement associated with the League of Nations to abolish all unjust war and hence neutrality, the prospects of agreement are remote.

The volume likewise contains much interesting information about the attempt to neutralize the Far East, Japan's entry into the war and an interesting discussion of the meaning of the Root-Takahashi agreement.

Altogether Mr. Dennett and Mr. Fuller of the State Department have done an admirable piece of work in assembling this material. The volume constitutes a case book on every important aspect of the international law of war. It has furthermore what most government documents lack, a really workable index. The State Department would perform an equally great service to diplomacy and to scholarship if it would provide for the immediate publication, in an indexed series, similar to that of the British parliamentary papers, of the vast amount of material which it now issues in mimeographed press releases.

Lawrence and the Arabian Adventure

By IBRAHIM A. KHAIRALLAH

FORMERLY CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL OFFICE
EGYPTIAN MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

OF the three books published during the past few years about the Arab revolt and the part played by Lawrence in it, the nearest approach to truth has been made by Robert Graves in his *Lawrence and the Arabs*. Of all the other books that of Lowell Thomas is a series of cinema lectures. Besides containing several inaccuracies, it decidedly bears

**Lawrence and the Arabian Adventure*. By Robert Graves. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. Garden City, N. Y.

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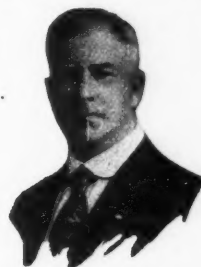
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the impress of the "Lawrence legend" under the enchantment of which it was written.

That written by Lawrence himself and intended for circulation, *Revolt in the Desert*, is likewise inaccurate in the sense of being incomplete. It leaves out the important rôle played by Lawrence himself, who, though a foreigner and an unbeliever, yet inspired and led the broadest national movement of the Arabs that had taken place since the great times of the Prophet Mohamed and his early successors and brought it to a triumphant conclusion. Moreover, it was written by a disillusioned man, tired of the adoration of the multitude and desiring nothing better than to be forgotten and left alone; by one who had come to look upon the name he bore—because of the deception he unwittingly was made to practice on the trustful Children of the Desert—with a feeling akin to aversion, so much so that he took another name and confirmed the alteration by deed poll.

Perhaps the truth will never be known, at least during the lifetime of Lawrence. The text of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, his great history of the Arab revolt, was stolen from Lawrence toward the end of 1919, and, as many believe, found its way to certain official archives, whence it may appear some day when political expediency should require it.

The chief merit of Graves's book is perhaps its outspokenness with regard to the conduct of certain Foreign Offices and the tortuous course taken by imperialistic diplomacy. It lays bare the secret treaties concluded between Great Britain, France and Russia for a division of the spoils, and the deception practiced upon the Sherif of Mecca and the Arab leaders in Syria and Mesopotamia. It exposes the intrigues of the agents of one of the interested powers in the Hedjaz and elsewhere to prevent by every possible means any possible march of the Arabs beyond the barren wastes of Arabia into the more promising lands to the north and the disastrous opposition they put up to the landing of a mixed expedition in Alexandretta, in Northern Syria, rather than the Dardanelles and Salonica. Alexandretta was the only logical and plausible spot where a landing could be effected that would isolate the Turkish forces in Syria, militate against the sending of reinforcements to Mesopotamia and thus shorten the duration of the war both in the East and in the West. Nor does it spare the diplomacy of the other Power concerned with the Mesopotamia venture. It describes the imperialistic tendencies of this policy in plain, unequivocal terms, of which we may quote the following paragraph:

"Now this Mesopotamian army was under the orders of the Government of India, and, though Lord Kitchener * * * had early in the war approached the leaders of the Secret Free-

dom Society of Mesopotamia to offer help in a mutiny which might have cleared Mesopotamia of the Turks at a single blow, his hand had been held. The Indian Government was afraid that if the Arabs mutined it would not be able to grant Mesopotamia those benefits of British protection which had been granted to Burma some years before; the Arabs would want to remain free."

This book does not mince matters. It gives the reader to understand that the revolt began under false pretenses. Promises were given that could not, and possibly were never intended to be carried out fully because of previous commitments. There was no genuine Arab freedom possible in the circumstances. But it was not until all was over that these Powers showed their hands and the disillusioned Arabs realized that they had only exchanged masters: that, instead of a single tyranny which they knew well, they fell under a new tyranny of several nations whom they did not know so well.

But what of Lawrence? Perhaps the most interesting feature of the whole work is the critical study of Lawrence and the analysis of his character. Early in life he took an interest in archaeology and while yet at high school he began thinking about the very revolt of the Arabs in which he afterward took such a leading part. The desert took a strong hold on him, as did the Bedouins' distaste for the luxuries of city life that could only be bought at the expense of personal freedom. Personal liberty, even though it be in the shadow of starvation and death, rather than worldly possessions with the trammels of civilization, is their motto, and his by adoption. So strong was the hold these took of him that his nature seems to have been divided into two conflicting selves, the Bedouin self always longing for the barrenness, simplicity and harshness of the desert, and the over-civilized European self. Between the two he has fallen into a nihilism which cannot find in being even a false god in which to believe.

As an archaeologist he wandered all over Syria and the Near East, where he got in touch with the members of the various Arab freedom societies, and began to take steps for the fulfillment of his schoolboy ambition to help the Arab revolt.

Lawrence is an incurable romantic. Little wonder, then, that he threw himself wholeheartedly into the great epic then in the making as the Arab revolt was. Little wonder that he took French leave of the General Staff at Cairo and went over to Arabia to hunt for a prophet whose enthusiasm would set the desert on fire—a leader who would bring the revolt to full glory. Nor did he rest in his quest until he had found his man, Feisal, the third son of Sherif Hussein.

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Being romantic, he loved adventure for its own sake and the weaker side because it is the weaker side. The deception practiced upon the Arabs weighed heavily upon his soul. He did all he could to keep the promises made, even to the extent of disobeying the orders of his superiors. It was due to his efforts that they were the first to enter Damascus and establish the short-lived kingdom of Syria. It was due to his influence that the Winston Churchill settlement of the Middle East was carried through, a settlement in which the big achievement of his life came close to realization. It was his devotion to the Arab cause that won him the hatred of Government officials, regular soldiers, old-fashioned political experts and such like, and made them look upon him as a disturbing element in their ordered scheme of things; a mystery and a nuisance. It was this same desire that elicited the firm answer to a highly placed personage who had rebuked him for appearing at Buckingham Palace in the company of Feisal clad in Arab costume: "When a man serves two masters and has to offend one of these, it is better for him to offend the more powerful." It was his dissatisfaction with the Versailles settlement that made him refuse to accept British decorations and explain to his sovereign that, as he had made certain promises to the Arabs which had not been fulfilled, it was quite possible that he might find himself fighting against the British forces, in which case it would be obviously impossible and wrong to be wearing British decorations.

The Russian Revolution From the Inside

By A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

FORMER COLONEL IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY

AN important work has been accomplished by the compiler and the translator of this imposing volume.* Professor Golder set himself the task of making a collection of documents presenting the true story of what happened in Russia during the momentous period from 1914 to November, 1917, and the result is highly satisfactory. The value of all those official documents, extracts from diaries, letters, speeches, newspaper articles and other material is enhanced by being properly sifted and classified and edited with introductory notes and other explanatory matter in such a way as to bring out clearly the facts which

were most important or characteristic. This treatment accounts for the undiminishing interest with which the volume is read from beginning to end. Although it is evident that a thorough study of the bibliography has been made, one notes the omission of such outstanding works as Y. N. Danilov's *Russia in the World War* and Maurice Paléologue's *Memoirs*, and the absence of any indication in the text that A. I. Denikin's work, *The Russian Turmoil*, has been consulted, although it is included in the bibliographical list. On the other hand, too much space is taken up by the *Memoirs* of M. V. Rodzianko, whose statements are not always supported by facts and contain a great deal of hearsay. A considerable portion of the material, in some chapters all of it, has been taken from two newspapers, the *Riech*, organ of the Constitutional Democratic (Cadet) Party, which during the old régime was in the opposition, and after the revolution represented the bourgeoisie, and the *Izvestiya*, which made its appearance with the Petrograd Soviet and served as its mouthpiece before becoming the organ of the Central Soviet a month before the Bolshevik seizure of power.

The main interest of the work arises from the light it throws on the embittered internal conflict in Russia, which was the fundamental cause of the catastrophic changes in the fateful years. Under the old régime the struggle was between the Czarist Government and the Duma and ended in the revolution, whereas under the new order of things the fight was between the Provisional Government and the Soviet and led to the rise of the Soviets. That each side sincerely believed that its line of action offered the only way of salvation is abundantly proved by the documents. For example, the progressive bloc of the Duma demanded political amnesty, a responsible Ministry, equal rights for the nationalities and the restoration of the trade unions and of the labor press. The Prime Minister (Goremykin) and the Minister of the Interior (Prince Shcherbatoff) were convinced that "the real object of the unseen labor leaders was to make use of the unfortunate military situation * * * to bring on a social revolution and to seize power." The attitude of the conservatives before the revolution was presented in a nutshell by V. V. Shulgin when he told the Duma that it was "dangerous to change horses when crossing the stream." They feared that a revolution would weaken the military strength of the country.

Such legends as the Emperor's and his Government's desire for a separate peace, the Empress's pro-German sympathies and the treachery of the highest imperial officials vanish in the light of the evidence set forth in the book. "This war * * * must be continued and brought to a victorious end," were the last

**Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917. By Frank Alfred Golder. Translated by Emanuel Aronsberg. New York: The Century Company.*



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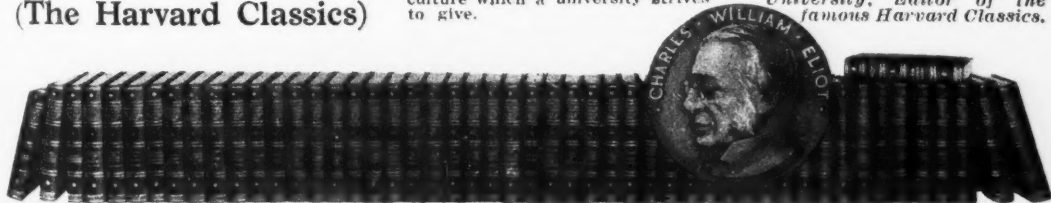
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words of Nicholas II to the army after he had signed his abdication. As to the Empress, the following lines were written by her in one of her letters to the Emperor: "I told Paul [the Grand Duke Paul Alexandrovich] that you had heard the same rumor [about separate peace] about France, and he crossed himself when I said you were not dreaming of peace and knew it would mean revolution here and, therefore, the Germans are trying to egg it on." Some of the chapters, such as "Special Councils and Public Organizations" (Chapter 7), "First Week of the Revolution" (Chapter 18), "The Korniloff Affair" (Chapter 37), are of especial interest, their contents revealing with great clearness the irreconcilability of the opposing sides and telling both versions of the story.

There are two matters in regard to which certain important data have not been taken into consideration by Professor Golder, whose accompanying comments on them are open to discussion. With reference to the first of these questions, that of responsibility for the shortage of munitions, it does not seem right to blame either "the antiquated autocratic system of government" or "incompetence." The real causes of the shortage were Russia's industrial backwardness, inadequate appropriations for national defense in time of peace and the enormous quantity of munitions required in modern warfare, a circumstance which had also not been foreseen by the French, the British and even the German authorities. Whereas, the highly developed industry of Russia's allies and the prolonged lull in military operations on the Western front enabled them to make their shortage good, Russia, against whom in 1915 the enemy's main blow was directed, was inevitably in a most critical situation unless assistance was forthcoming from her allies. It is not generally known that the necessity of solving the munitions problem with the closest cooperation of Russia's allies was raised by the Russian General Headquarters as early as the Fall of 1914. As to the question of Rasputin's influence through the Empress on the conduct of the war, it has been stated "that a man's fitness to command was determined by his loyalty to Rasputin." The fact, however, that General Alexeiev, the Emperor's Chief of Staff and the *de facto* Commander-in-Chief of the army, was an avowed foe of the notorious peasant may serve as a refutation of this statement. These details do not affect the general value of the work. Among the voluminous material relating to what happened in Russia in 1914-1917, Professor Golder's volume will occupy a special place as a concise, complete and objective account of great historic events.

Urbanization

By C. LUTHER FRY

DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF STANDARDS, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

EVER since Old Testament times major and minor prophets have been extolling the virtues of rural inhabitants in contrast with the decadence of city dwellers. The dominant attitude was well summarized by Cowper in his much-quoted "God made the country, man made the town." And now comes John Giffen Thompson, who tries to show that Plato, Rousseau, Jefferson and the rest who condemned city life were false prophets and their testimony but a snare and a delusion. In the author's own words, "this volume* represents another attempt at an examination of the consequences of urbanization, as viewed primarily, although not exclusively, from the political point of view."

The book begins by summarizing the opinions of a multitude of philosophers and political thinkers about the relative merits of rural and urban life. Then, after comparatively brief discussions of the influence of urbanization upon civil liberty and upon economic freedom, the author reaches the main subject of his inquiry, which is the effect of the growth of cities upon political liberty or democracy. The 600-page discussion which follows falls into two parts. The first section deals with the way in which urbanization has contributed to the development of democratic forms of government, while the second part discusses such internal or domestic aspects of the subject as the effect of the cityward trend upon political intelligence, political initiative and political genius, public spirit, political purity, efficiency of government, the moral and religious factors and the like.

Mr. Thompson tells us in his preface that he was led to investigate this whole subject because he found that, "while a great deal had been written on * * * the subject and it had long been discussed in a popular way, comparatively little had really been done at its proper and scientific investigation." Much of the material thus far available was "mere opinion" and "contradictory in character." "In order, therefore, to arrive at any conclusions in which he himself could have confidence, the author felt impelled to go into the subject more thoroughly, and this volume represents the result of that venture."

In view of these promises one is inclined to start the book with high hopes. Certainly the subject discussed is an important one. Since

*Urbanization: Its Effects on Government and Society, by John Giffen Thompson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. 683 pages.



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VIKING  BOOKS

the industrial revolution the growth of cities has proceeded at an exceedingly rapid rate. Villages and small towns have been mushrooming into cities almost overnight. What are the effects of this development on government and society? Mr. Thompson's preface would lead one to believe that he is going to give us a thoroughgoing scientific answer to this vitally important question. What he really does can best be shown by summarizing the procedure employed in a typical chapter. Take, for example, Chapter XXIV, which labors under the title of "Urbanization and the Ponderables and the Imponderables in War: The Gun and the Man Behind the Gun." The discussion falls into two parts, of which the first deals with "urbanization and the material equipment for war." In this section the author dwells upon the fact that urban centres are in a better position than rural areas to supply the guns, war vessels and ammunition so necessary to modern warfare, while he glosses over the dependence of a nation in times of war upon its food supplies. On Page 602 we read: "The next great war, if unfortunately there shall be a next great war, is likely to be as much more destructive than the one that came to a close in 1918 as the latter exceeded the wars of former times in this respect. In such a war the factory and the laboratory are certain to play a much more predominating part than they did in the recent struggle. Not the ability to subsist the population, not the ability merely to hold out, will therefore be decisive, but the ability to command the sea and the air and to carry the frightful destruction of poison gas and devastating explosives and other destructive agencies quickly to the other side." In view of the supreme importance of food supplies in winning the last war it seems gratuitous to assume that it will not be a vitally important factor in winning the next war.

In the second half of this chapter Mr. Thompson tries to show that the urban dwellers make as good or better soldiers than farmer boys. As alleged proof of his position the author relates in detail the case of a London bookkeeper who enlisted in the last war and who, upon reaching the front, displayed such fiendish fierceness in battle that he had to be restrained by his officers. This story is supposed to "well illustrate the astonishing aptitude for military affairs manifested by individuals whom the routine of city life had supposedly deprived of initiative and assertiveness and rendered unfit for military service."

The remainder of the so-called proof submitted by the author has to do mainly with the birthplace of the leading aviators in the last war. We are told that "one of the most superb of the French airmen, indeed, the mar-

velously skilled and highly redoubtable Fonck, was born in a small village in the Vosges. But the heroic Guynemer, probably unsurpassed in deeds of courage and prowess in a war whose heroes were legion, was a Parisian by birth and the son of a retired army officer who later became a prosperous manufacturer in the city of Compiègne." The conclusion reached on the basis of this and similar data is that "if there be, as has frequently been asserted, a 'flying temperament,' the conclusion is inescapable that the urban environment tends strongly to produce such a temperament among its residents."

The net result of the entire book is to give the reader the feeling that no stone has been left unturned to find evidence in support of the position that city life is highly beneficial to the State and society. No piece of testimony seems too feeble or unreliable for Mr. Thompson to use provided it bolsters up his main thesis. By this method one can "prove" almost anything, but it is the kind of proof which convinces only those who are already convinced.

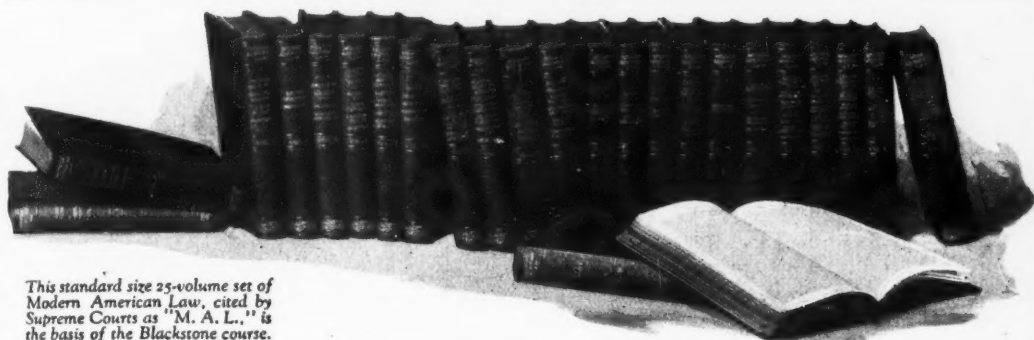
Brief Book Reviews

AMERICAN PRESIDENTS. By Thomas Francis Moran. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. \$2.50.

The purpose of the author in this book is "to draw a character sketch and, in a general way, to evaluate the services of the President of the United States from 1889 to the present time." Since the Chief Executive exerts an influence over many subjects outside his legal and constitutional sphere and at the same time projects himself into world affairs, the author thinks such a study makes "for a better understanding of American history." Holding that "the selection of a President is the most important single act which the people of the United States are called upon to perform," he has reviewed and analyzed the methods and principles involved in the selection, with the idea of causing Americans to think about the Presidency and to consider whether better results could be obtained with a change in the electoral laws.

EDUCATION FOR TOLERANCE. By John E. J. Fanshawe. New York: Independent Education.

The author of this essay believes that identity of language does not necessarily facilitate identity of ideas and depreciates the well-intentioned efforts of many who promote societies and organizations to promote friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States. In fact, he considers Anglo-American relations a subject so delicate as to require "the entire time, brains and experience" of statesmen. "It is indeed difficult," he says, "to reconcile the keen business acumen that raised America to industrial supremacy with the failure to understand many of the fundamental principles used to solve abstract social problems." Per-



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ELEMENTS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Newell L. Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.75.

The purpose of this text is "to contribute a viewpoint and an emphasis that seem to be needed." Since the author has noted that the majority of the students in his own experience who study rural sociology are of town or city origin, he has kept in mind the problem of interpreting rural society to those with an urban background. Although this approach may be considered a contribution to the subject, specialists in this field as well as the general reader with an interest in sociology, will probably be more interested in the author's definite concept of society and sociology. In his own words, "society is thought of in terms of energy manifest organically, materially and culturally in a unity which we call the human group. Sociology thus becomes the study of the behavior of the energy of such groups." Hence it follows that he sees the rural problem as social instability and points to "a process of stabilization" as the solution.

MIRRORS OF THE YEAR: A NATIONAL REVUE OF OUTSTANDING FIGURES AND EVENTS OF 1927-8. New York: Frederick A. Stokes. \$4.

According to the editor, this is not a "year book" or an "almanac," but rather a review and a "revue" of today in the broader sense. To evaluate the contents of the volume is difficult in view of the uneven literary quality of the articles. For instance, one would hardly mention "A Critique of Criticism," by Louis Bromfield, in the same breath with "Today and Tomorrow in Clothes," by Carmel Snow. But such is the nature of "Mirrors." Nearly a score of well-known writers in this country interpret the hobbies, trend and affairs of the nation, and the publishers have spared no effort in the matter of make-up and illustration to make the book attractive.

MUSSOLINI THE MAN OF DESTINY. By Vittorio E. De Fiori. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.

Here is an intimate, chronological story of Il Duce as told by a man who has known him for many years. The author speaks from first-hand information, having served on the staff of Mussolini's paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*. American readers will be interested in Mr. De Fiori's interpretation of the much-misunderstood Premier, for he was one of the few original founders of the Fascist movement in this country.

A CASE BOOK FOR ECONOMICS. By William Ernest Weld and Alvin S. Tostlebe. Boston: Ginn & Co., \$2.80.

The much-discussed idea of teaching economics by the case method has here been developed along lines which should prove of great value in fundamental college courses. Since the book brings together actual economic experiences—contributed by business firms and individuals—the student is presented with accurate pictures of many representative economic phenomena, and thus led to link the principles set forth therein with its own observations and experiences. Two of the most important sources of case material were students of Columbia

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 7. What is the Milky Way?
 8. Who was Delilah?
 9. What famous speech begins: "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears"?
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 11. How far does a falling body drop in the first second after starting from rest?
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THE DISTRICT SCHOOL AS IT WAS. By Warren Burton. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$1.50.

Those who wish to visualize and understand the school life of boys and girls in New England a hundred years ago will be interested in this reprint of the book by the Rev. Mr. Warren Burton, who in 1883 wrote his humorous memories of boyhood experiences in District No. 5. The wish of the author to "have future generations acquainted with the accommodations, or rather dis-accommodations of their predecessors," has been realized, for this quaint record "gives the same feeling as if one were looking out on the world through the flaws of an oldtime windowpane." The book is illustrated with cuts from old spellers and other books of the period.

A SHORT HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. By William W. Hewett. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$1.25.

This history of Great Britain since 1714 has been revised at the request of "friends" so as to give less detailed treatment of the last two centuries. The writer has duly noted the significance of the changes resulting from the Great War, the reconstruction of Central Europe and the extension of the influence of the Dominions, India and the Crown Colonies in the life of the Commonwealth of Nations. In deference to the wishes of many who teach British history in the United States, special attention has been devoted to overseas affairs.

A HISTORY OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY. By Horatio W. Dresser. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.

This new volume by Dr. Dresser will be found useful as a college textbook, for it is written in a clear and attractive style and contains a compact and yet comprehensive outline of the history of philosophic thought from Bacon to the present day, besides devoting a special section to philosophy in America. Though the author summarizes the various systems objectively and impartially, his own standpoint is definitely opposed to materialistic and allied philosophies. A college textbook of this kind would, however, be of much greater value if the author indicated at least the relations between philosophic ideas and the social conditions in the midst of which they are evolved, since intellectual development is only one aspect of general history.

ASIA REBORN. By Marguerite Harrison. New York: Harper & Bros., Publishers. \$4.

Before the author attempts to answer such troublesome questions as: "Are the yellow races to dominate the world instead of the white?" or "Will an Asiatic League of Nations be the final crystallization of the revolt of the East against the West?" she proceeds to give her readers "a succinct account of the post-war history of Asiatic countries, singly and in relation to the racial groups to which they belong." At the same time she attempts to "outline social economic and psychological conditions, and Asia's reactions to world movements in the light of historical happenings, basing her conclusions largely on her own observations in various Asiatic countries, where she has spent considerable time since 1919. Her

findings are interesting, as illustrated by the following: "No country which possesses its share of raw materials and still lacks ability to exploit them can escape Economic Imperialism," and with reference to Japan, "It matters little whether such imperialism is right or wrong in principle—it will exist as long as it is necessary to insure the normal growth of peoples. If we could look far enough into the future we should probably be able to foresee the establishment of a World Federation based on economic needs." Those who have fears about the movements and events in the Asiatic countries since the World War will find this writer reassuring, for she thinks that the ferment in Asia is merely the result of exercising "the right to grow," but we must "admit her right to development."

THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. By Laurence F. Schmeckebier. Published by The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., for the Institute for Government Research. \$3.

This volume, which is No. 48 of a series of monographs which the Institute is preparing on each of the fifty or more services of the Government, will be of value to those interested in the Office of Indian Affairs as an important unit in the administrative branch of the National Government as well as to those particularly concerned with the welfare of the Indian and the steps taken for his advancement. The monographs deal with the history of the establishment and development of the service, its functions, its organization, the character of its plant, a compilation of the laws and regulations, financial statements covering appropriations and expenditures, with a full bibliography of the sources of information bearing on the service and its operations.

Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD.
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Aircraft Year Book 1927. New York: Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, 1927. \$5.25.

A handbook of all that relates to aircraft, governmental and civic.

DANIELS, H. G. *The Rise of the German Republic.* New York: Scribner, 1928. \$4.

Germany from the revolution of 1918 to the adoption of the Dawes plan, based on a careful review of German sources, supplemented by personal experience. By the Berlin correspondent of The London Times.

DENNIS, ALFRED L. P. *Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906.* New York: Dutton, 1928. \$5.

A very important book. The author has had access to the archives of the State Department and to the private papers of the Presidents and Secretaries of State of the period. Many documents are published for the first time.

DOBBS, MAURICE. *Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution.* New York: Dutton, 1928. \$5.

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Great Britain and the Dominions: Lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1927. Chicago. Chicago University Press, 1928. \$3.

Authoritative discussions of the Empire and of the Dominions by representatives of each.

HARING, CLARENCE H. *South America Looks at the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1928. \$2.

A temperate review of the causes for mutual misunderstanding between Latin America and the United States, its extent and the possibility for its alleviation.

HUGHES, CHARLES EVANS. *The Supreme Court of the United States: Its Foundation, Methods and Achievements: An Interpretation*. New York: Columbia University, 1928. \$2.50.

A course of lectures designed to acquaint the layman with the most important facts regarding the origin, principles, methods and effect of the Supreme Court.

JOUHAUX, LEON. *Le Désarmement*. Paris: Alcan, 1927.

A member of the French delegation at Geneva reviews the progress already made and urges further action.

KENT, FRANK R. *The Democratic Party: A History*. New York: Century, 1928. \$5.

A narrative rather than a critical history. It is, nevertheless, unpartisan and is a valuable contribution to political history.

MERZ, CHARLES. *The Great American Band Wagon*. New York: Day, 1928. \$3.

An amusing discussion of Babbitt and its representation in the American press.

MYERS, WILLIAM STARR. *The Republican Party: A History*. New York: Century, 1928. \$5.

Somewhat less objective but more detailed than its companion volume, Mr. Kent's "Democratic Party," it forms with it a review of party politics that should be widely read.

OXFORD AND ASQUITH, THE EARL OF. *Speeches*. New York: Doran, 1927. \$5.

A selection covering the years 1887 to 1926. More than half relate to pre-war political questions.

POINCARE, RAYMOND. *Neuf Années de Souvenirs: L'Union Sacrée*. Paris: Plon, 1927. Fr. 25.

The French Premier writes the story of events from January to September, 1914. polemical rather than critical.

RIPPY, J. FRED. *Latin America in World Politics: An Outline Survey*. New York: Knopf, 1928. \$3.50.

A survey of the relations of the United States and of the European countries with the Latin American States. A work of great importance for the proper understanding of present political situations.

ROMIER, LUCIEN. *Qui Sera Maître, Europe ou Amérique?* Paris: Hachette, 1927. Fr. 12.

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RONALDSHAY, EARL OF. *The Life of Lord Curzon*. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1928. 3 vols. \$15.

An important biography of one of the most significant figures in later English history.

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SALTER, SIR ARTHUR. AND OTHERS. *The Economic Consequences of the League*. London: Europa, 1927. 12s. 6d.

Essays by experts of various nationalities on the questions before the recent Economic Conference.

SAZONOV, SERGE. *Fateful Years, 1909-1916*. New York: Stokes, 1928. \$3.50.

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An exceedingly good-tempered and readable analysis of the Catholic point of view regarding citizenship, by one of the editors of *The Commonweal*.

SIBLEY, JAMES L., AND WESTERMANN, D. *Liberia, Old and New*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. \$3.

An investigation conducted by an American educational group covering geographic, economic and social conditions.

SZASZ, ZSOMBOR DE. *The Minorities in Roumanian Transylvania*. London: Richards, 1927. 16s.

The Hungarian point of view regarding the present situation of the minorities.

UNDERWOOD, OSCAR W. *Drifting Sands of Party Politics*. New York: Century, 1928. \$3.50.

The functioning of our legislative machinery; how it is affected by parties, blocs and organized minorities.

WHITE, ELIZABETH BRETT. *American Opinion of France, From Lafayette to Poincare*. New York: Knopf, 1927. \$5.

A carefully documented presentation of events in France as seen by American eyes. Useful for the light it throws on the development of our foreign policy.

WILE, FREDERIC WILLIAM, edited by. *A Century of Industrial Progress*. Foreword by Herbert Hoover. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. \$5.

A summary statement of the economic development during the last century, written by a group of thirty-two specialists in different fields.

WILLERT, SIR ARTHUR. *Aspects of British Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928. \$2.

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request.]

REPUDIATED STATE DEBTS.

Ernest F. Barry, writing from Boston with
reference to the recent revival of the question
of repudiating State debts, recalls the fact
that Professor Raymond Turner in the Janu-
ary, 1926, number of CURRENT HISTORY dealt
with this subject and goes on to say:

"In reading now Professor Turner's article,
I am particularly struck by the unsatisfactory
character of the replies received from the Gov-
ernors of Georgia, North Carolina and Arkan-
sas. The 'defense' put forth by Governor
Angus McLean of North Carolina in particu-
lar is extremely specious. He wrote: 'As a
matter of fact, North Carolina has been so
jealous of her financial reputation that a few
years ago she paid one issue of her previously
unrecognized bonds which were found to have
been legally issued though no action lay against
the State to compel payment.'

"The facts in the case to which reference is
here made are given in Volume X of *Modern
Business*, published by the Alexander Hamil-
ton Institute, New York, Chapter XIII, par.
121, as follows:

The Supreme Court * * * in its decree pro-
vided that if the State of North Carolina did
not pay \$27,400 to the State of South Dakota
on or before Jan. 1, 1905, the United States
Marshal should sell at public auction upon the
steps of the National Capitol in Washington,
after six weeks' public notice, the capital stock
of the North Carolina Railroad Company, which
was at that time the property of the State of
North Carolina. * * * North Carolina not only
paid the judgment to the State of South
Dakota, but in order to avoid being placed in
an inconsistent position settled with the re-
maining holders of this particular class of un-
funded bonds by giving them \$250,000 of new
securities in payment.

"The United States Supreme Court judgment
referred to above is mentioned on page 25 of a
pamphlet issued last year by the Council of
Foreign Bondholders in London."

* * *

AMERICAN WRITER BARRED FROM GUATEMALA.

The following cable dispatch dated Guate-
mala, March 28, appeared in the New York
Herald-Tribune:

A letter from Carleton Beals, American spe-
cial correspondent in Nicaragua of *The Nation*,

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complaining that Guatemala authorities had refused him permission to land, was published today.

The letter was dated March 22, and was written aboard the liner Corinto, off the Guatemalan port of San Jose. Mr. Beals is returning to the United States after having reported the situation in Nicaragua. Mr. Beals wanted to cross Guatemalan territory to Ayutla, and proceed to Mexico. He complained that the authorities at San Jose would not allow him to land, and he regarded their action as an insult to the publications he represented.

The newspaper *El Mundo*, commenting on the letter, said that Mr. Beals visited Guatemala in 1926; the articles he wrote on returning to the United States, the newspaper charged, were untrue. These articles were published in *CURRENT HISTORY*. Mr. Beals, *El Mundo* said, wrote that Guatemala's Government was entirely subject to the Mexican Government, and that all Guatemalan newspapers were subsidized by Mexico.

It was charged that Mr. Beals said Guatemala was ruled by an Indian-negro halfbreed. It was said further that Mr. Beals wrote that the United States was compelled to extend its sovereignty to the Panama Canal; that Central America was playing the part of the Balkans, and that Guatemala's rôle was that of Serbia. Guatemalan authorities, the newspaper said, upheld the dignity of Guatemala by teaching Mr. Beals "a lesson in gentlemanliness and good breeding."

* * *

"LAFAYETTE, WE ARE HERE."

To the Editor of *Current History*:

The remark, "Lafayette, we are here," should be credited to Colonel Charles E. Stanton, who was chief paymaster of the first expedition that went to France and was with General Pershing at the time. Colonel Stanton is now retired and lives at 775 Post Street, San Francisco. In army circles he is known as "something of an orator." General Pershing's office is frequently asked about this matter and long ago decided to answer them all in this way.

HAL HARRISON SMITH.

Washington, D. C.

* * *

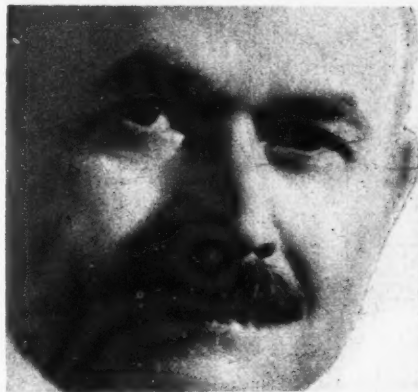
THE TEACHING OF EVOLUTION.

To the Editor of *Current History*:

I am somewhat perplexed by the reasoning of the author of the article "Evolution Still a Live Issue in the Schools," by Maynard Shipley, in March *CURRENT HISTORY*. He tells us that Arkansas is to have a referendum on the question "Whether or not biology and geology may be taught in that State," and then offers as evidence the newspaper report that "there is some doubt whether biology and embryology could be taught" under the proposed measure. Since this newspaper doubt becomes a scientific certainty in the mind of the writer, one is led to wonder if his other conclusions rest on like evidence. Then later in the article there

Continued in advertising section at back of magazine.

What Judge Lindsey Thinks About PELMANISM



I SEE in Pelmanism a new power, a great driving force. It teaches the science of self-realization; it makes the student discover himself; it acquaints him with his sleeping powers and shows him how to develop them. Will-power, originality, decision, resourcefulness, imagination, initiative, courage—every one of these qualities can be developed by effort just as muscles can be developed by exercise. Pelmanism calls for application, but I know of nothing that pays larger returns on an investment of one's spare time from day to day.

(Signed) BEN B. LINDSEY.

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Let Pelmanism help you to pull yourself up into the big things of life. A 2c stamp brings you the absorbingly interesting book, "Scientific Mind Training," which explains Pelmanism in detail, and tells what it has done for 650,000 men and women who follow it. Mail the coupon for it now.

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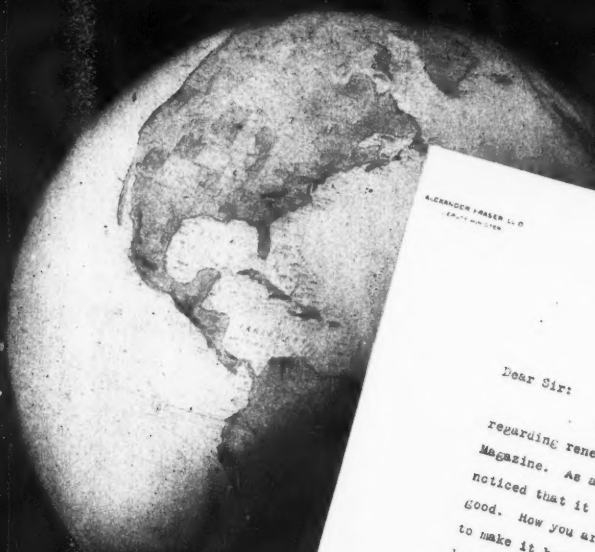
Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

CURRENT HISTORY

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY



ALEXANDER FRASER, LL.D.
DEPUTY MINISTER



DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RECORDS
CLERK
AND ARCHIVES
TORONTO

Dear Sir:

12th March, 1928.

I have your letter of the 2nd instant regarding renewing our subscription for Current History Magazine. As an old reader of the Magazine I have never noticed that it needed improvement. It has always been good. Now you are to make it better, and look forward to make it best in the ascending scale of comparison, I do not know, but it is a fine thing to at least try to paint the lily. From this you will know that I very much enjoy the perusal of Current History and, of course, we shall continue our subscription.

Will you be good enough to send an account in duplicate when the present subscription runs out. This is in order to conform to the departmental requirements.

Yours very truly,

Alexander Fraser

DEPUTY MINISTER.

The Business Manager,
Current History Magazine,
The New York Times Co.,
Times Square, New York, U.S.A.

Any new subscriber residing in the United States who will send in this offer with check will receive the magazine postpaid for 14 months for \$3; 24 months for \$5; Canada, 1 year \$4, 2 years \$7; foreign, 1 year \$5; 2 years \$8.50.

CURRENT HISTORY, Times Annex, New York City

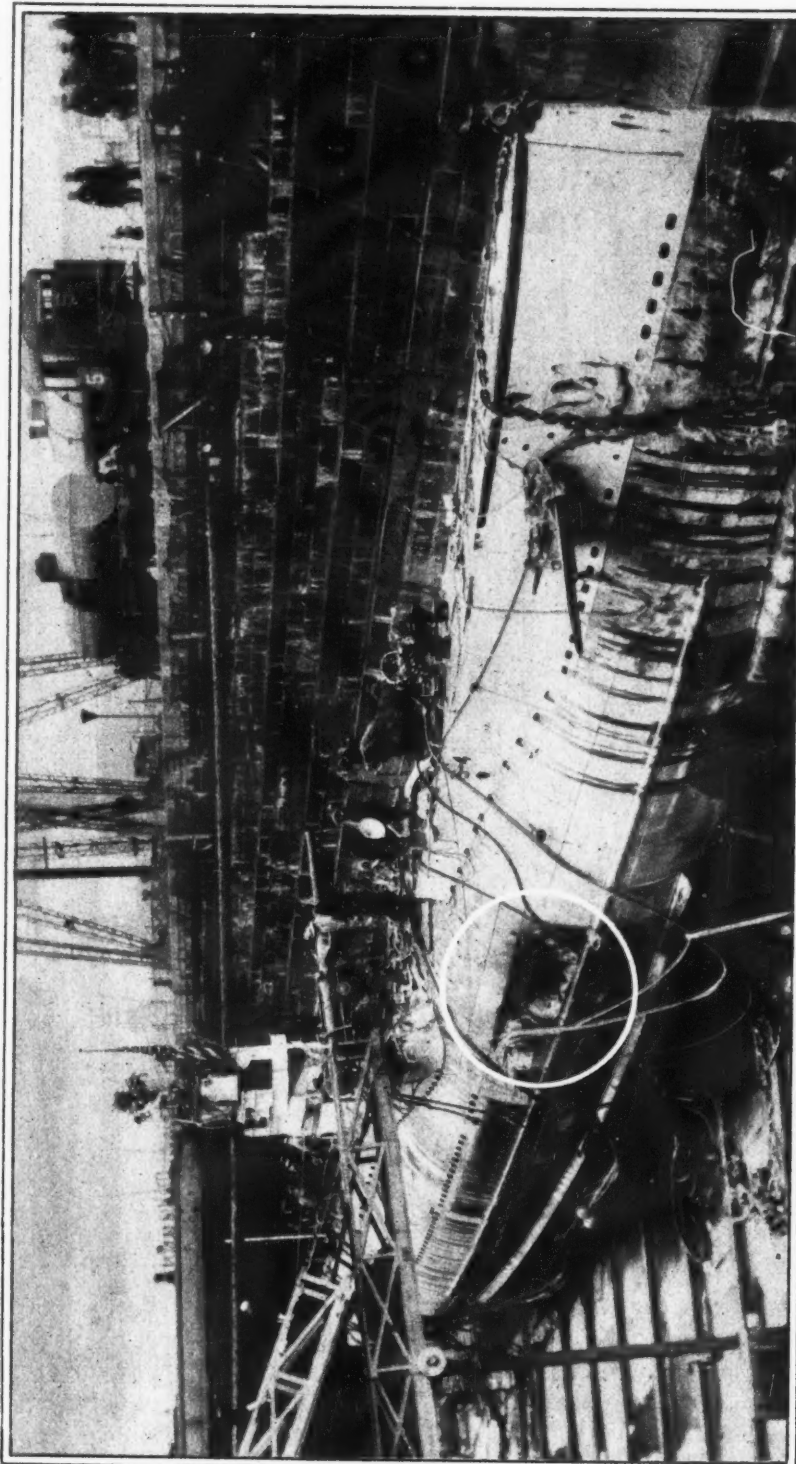
Current History

Pictures in Rotogravure



TWO GREAT MEN OF INVENTION AND INDUSTRY
Henry Ford, Thomas A. Edison and Mrs. Edison outside the inventor's laboratory at Fort Myers, Fla.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE SUBMARINE S-4



Times Wide World Photos

THE SALVAGED SUBMERSIBLE AT CHARLESTOWN (MASS.) NAVY YARD
The submarine S-4 which was sunk in collision off Provincetown, Mass. on Dec. 17, 1927, with the loss of forty lives, was successfully raised on March 17, 1928, and towed to Boston. The circle indicates where the hull was pierced

THE CALIFORNIA DAM DISASTER



WHERE THE DAM COLLAPSED



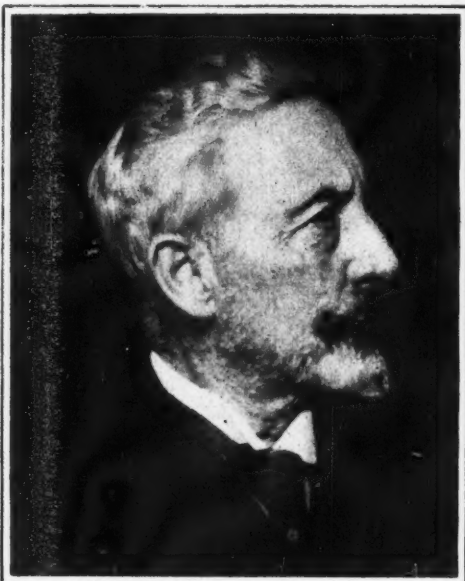
Times Wide World Photos

BRIDGE AND BUTTRESSES THAT WERE WASHED AWAY

The swollen waters of the St. Francis Dam of the Los Angeles water supply broke through on March 13, spreading death and destruction to property in the flooded area

"IS DEMOCRACY A FAILURE?"

Contributors to the symposium on this question in this issue of **CURRENT HISTORY**



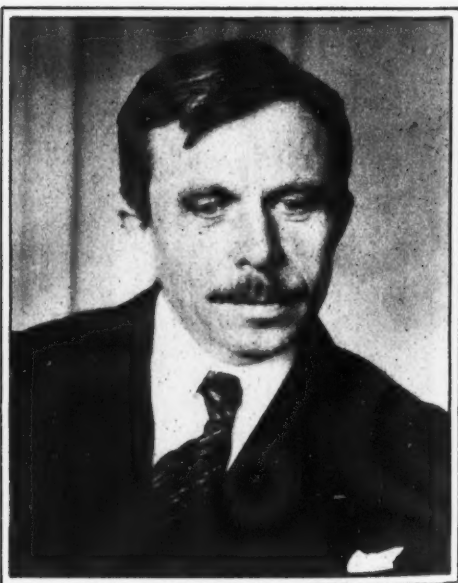
WILHELM II
Former German Emperor



© Eva Barrett, Rome
BENITO MUSSOLINI
Premier of Italy



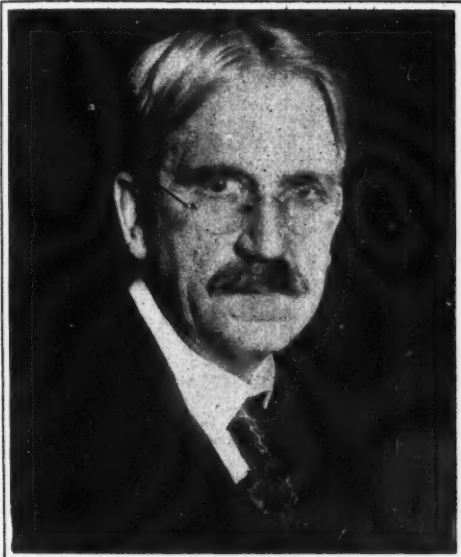
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ALBERT C. RITCHIE
Governor of Maryland



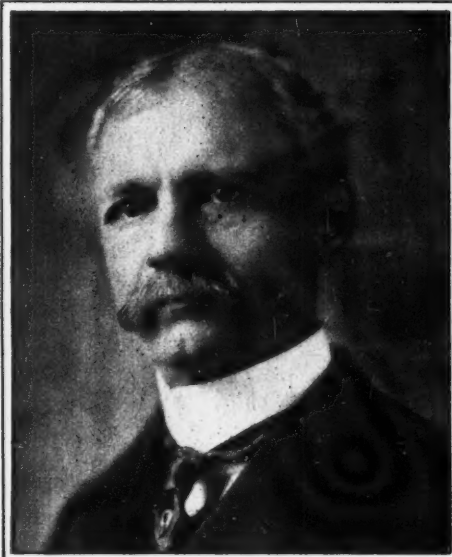
Times Wide World Photos
JAMES T. SHOTWELL
Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace

"SHALL THE POWERS END CHINA'S CARNAGE?"

Two of the contributors to the discussion in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, and two of the Chinese Nationalist Generals



JOHN DEWEY
Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University
Keystone



WILLIAM CROZIER
Major General (Retired), United States Army
Harris & Ewing

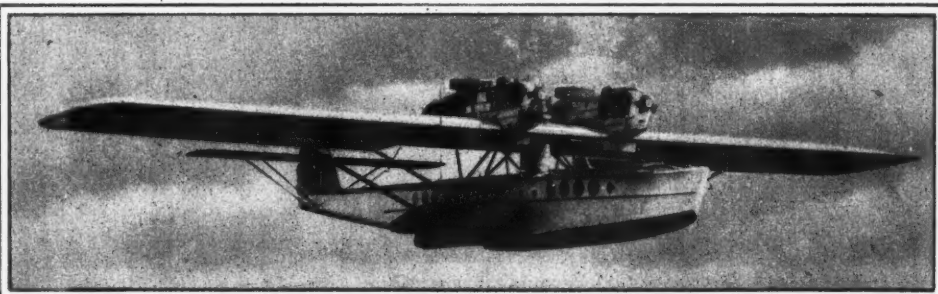


CHIANG KAI-SHEK
Commander-in-Chief of the forces recognizing the Nanking Government
© Merl La Voy



FENG YU-HSIANG
Now said to be the most powerful military leader on the Nationalist side
Times Wide World Photos

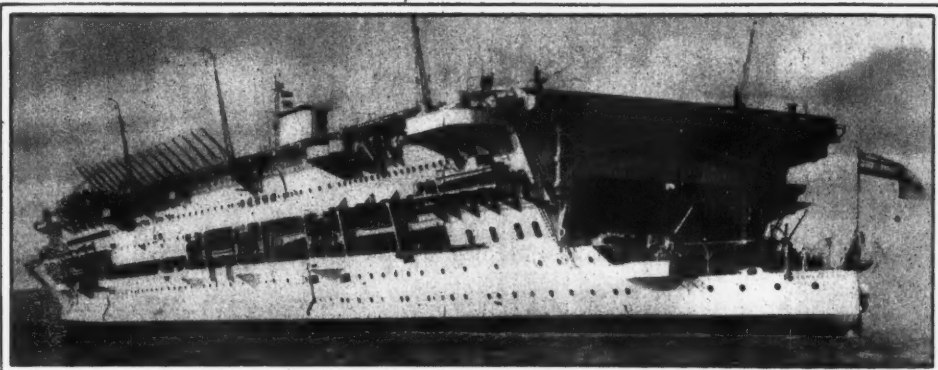
AVIATION IN SOME OF ITS LATEST PHASES



"YACHT OF THE SKIES"

Times Wide World Photos

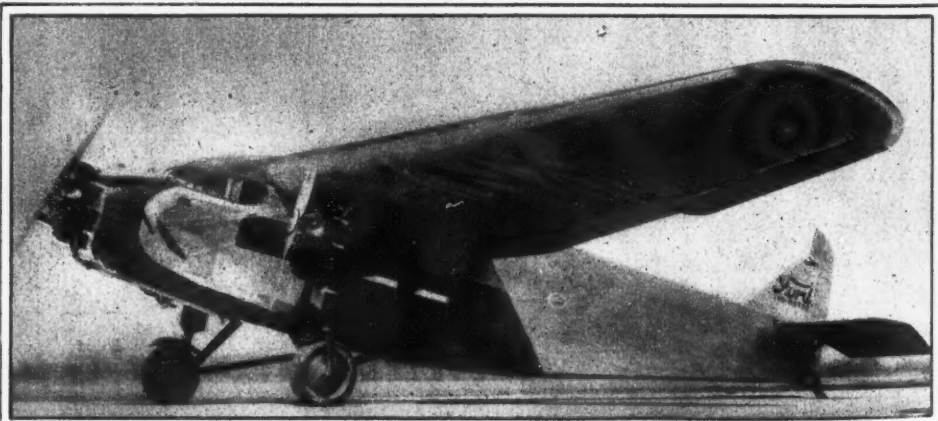
A new German flying boat, fitted with four engines capable of developing 2,000 horsepower and carrying twenty passengers and a crew of three



FOR AEROPLANES AT SEA

Times Wide World Photos

The British warship *Courageous*, converted at a cost of nearly \$10,000,000 into a sea-going aerodrome.



BYRD'S NEW PLANE

Times Wide World Photos

The giant tri-motored all-steel Ford monoplane, recently completed at Detroit, which will be used by Commander Richard E. Byrd and his party on their South Pole Expedition

FIVE ARMY AVIATORS AWARDED THE FLYING CROSS



CAPTAIN JOHN A. MACREADY

Who with Lieutenant O. G. Kelly in May, 1923, made the first successful transcontinental flight from Long Island, N. Y., to California



FIRST LIEUTENANT OAKLEY G. KELLY

Who shares with Captain Macready the honor of the first successful transcontinental flight



ARTHUR C. GOEBEL,
First Lieutenant, Air Corps, who flew from California to Honolulu in August, 1927



THE LATE CAPTAIN HAWTHORNE C. GRAY

Whose widow was given the Distinguished Flying Cross for his attainment of the greatest altitude ever reached. He died when his supply of oxygen was exhausted. His last and fatal ascent was made in a balloon on Nov. 4, 1927

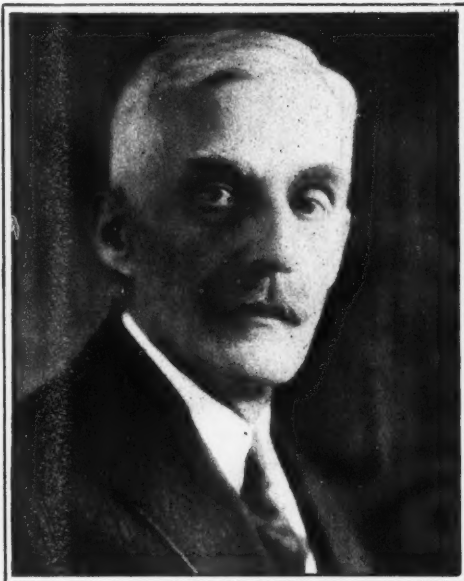
All Official Photos U. S. Army Air Corps



RUSSELL L. MAUGHAN

First Lieutenant, Air Corps, who in June, 1924, made the famous "Dawn to Dusk" flight from Mitchel Field, Long Island, N. Y., to Crissy Field, San Francisco, Cal., in 21 hours 48½ minutes

PROMINENT IN PRESENT-DAY EVENTS



Harris & Ewing

ANDREW W. MELLON

Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, who celebrated his 74th birthday on March 24



Harris & Ewing, from Wide World

BRIG. GEN. FRANK R. MCCOY

Appointed by President Coolidge to supervise the Nicaraguan elections



Times Wide World Photos

SIR GEORGE MILNE

British General who has just been promoted to Field Marshal

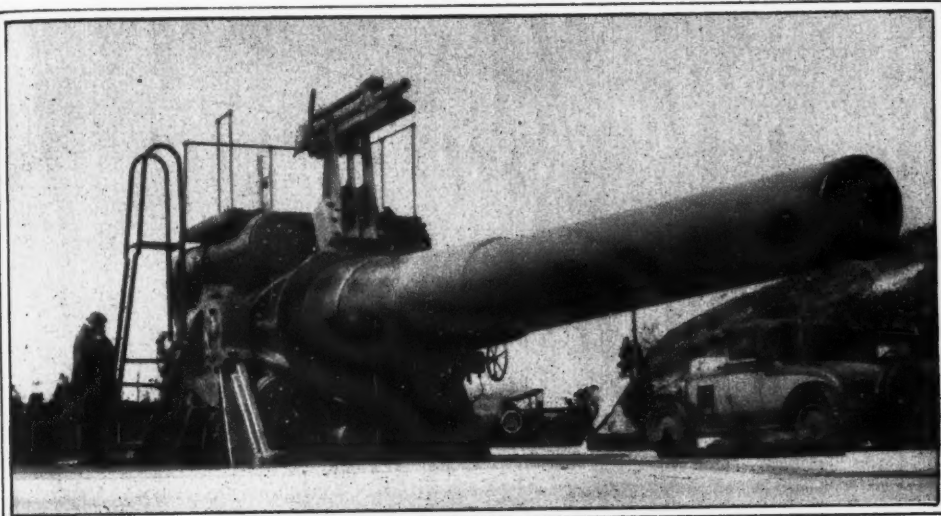


Harris & Ewing

REAR ADMIRAL DAVID F. SELLERS

Commander of the U. S. Special Squadron in Nicaragua

MASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS FOR WAR AND PEACE



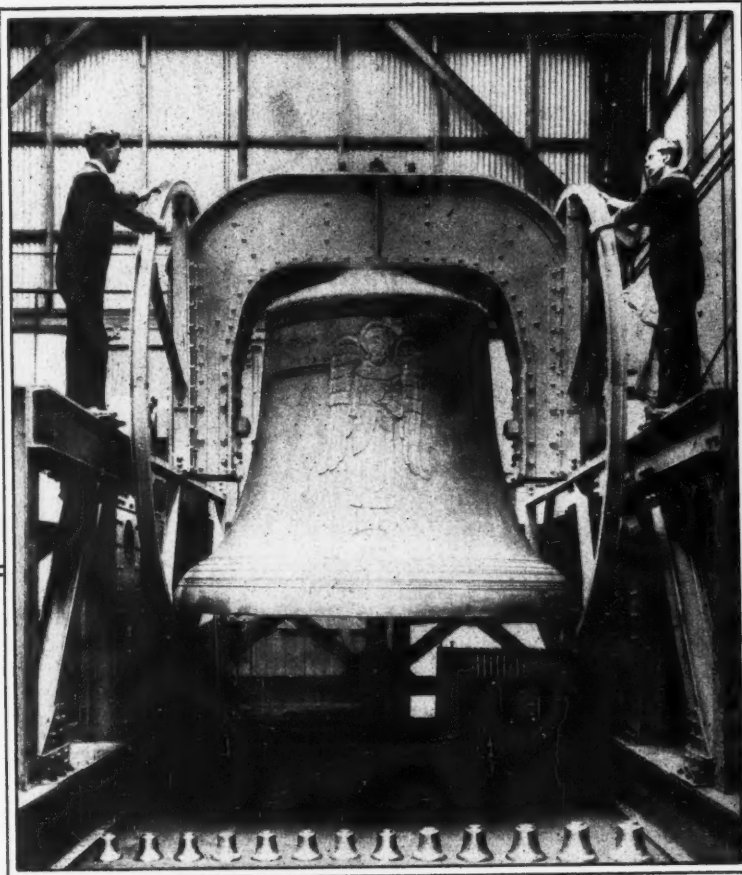
Keystone

ONE OF THE NEW 12-INCH COAST DEFENSE GUNS

In perfect alignment with this huge new gun at Fort Hancock, Sandy Hook, N. J., is one of the famous French 75s which is actually fired after the crew have done their sighting and aiming with the big gun. The hits registered by the small gun are the same as if the big gun were fired, the purpose being to save \$300 a shot, which would be required for the larger ammunition.

THE LARGEST BELL IN THE WORLD

Recently cast in England at the Croydon Bell Foundry for the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Carillon, Riverside Church, New York City
P. & A.

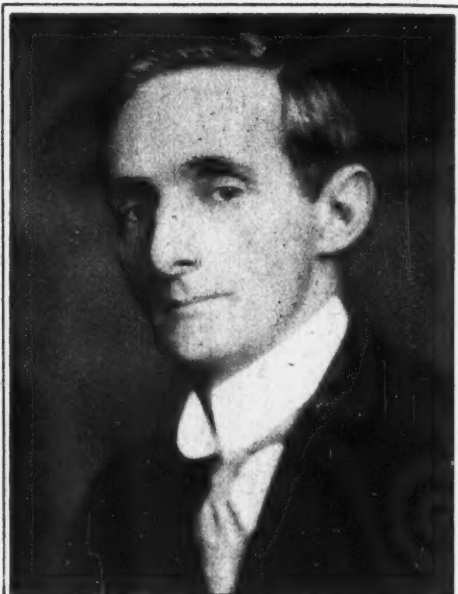


STATESMEN ACTIVE IN LATIN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS



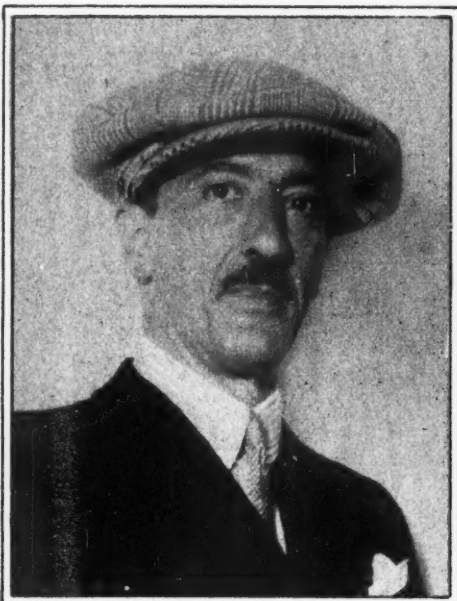
Harris & Ewing

ANTONIO R. BARCELO
President of the Porto Rican Senate



Harris & Ewing

FELIX CORDOVA DAVILA
Resident Commissioner Representing
Porto Rico in the United States
Congress



Times Wide World Photos

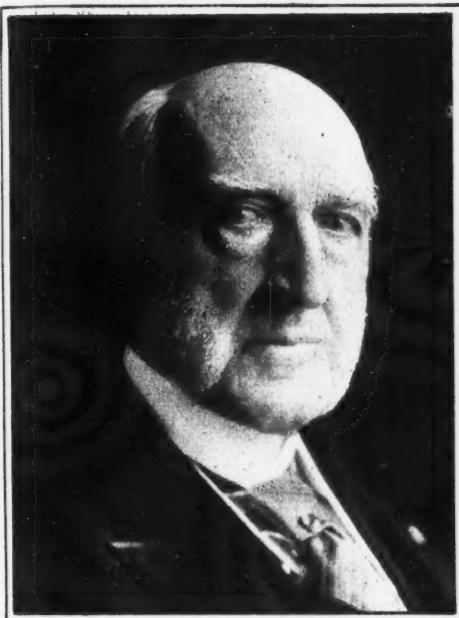
CARLOS NOEL
The New Argentine Ambassador to the
United States



New York Times Studios

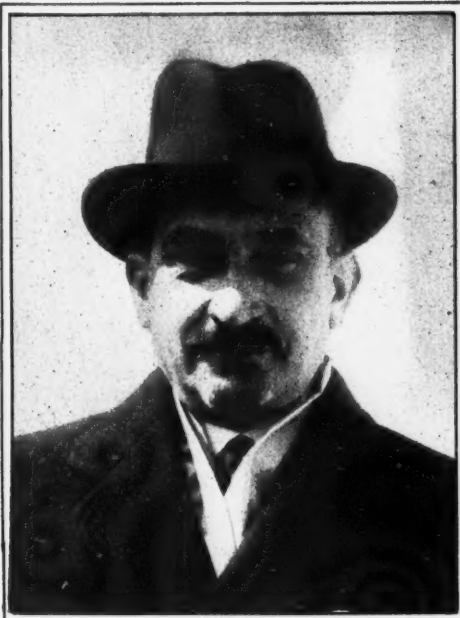
DWIGHT W. MORROW
United States Ambassador to Mexico

PERSONALITIES IN THE MONTH'S NEWS

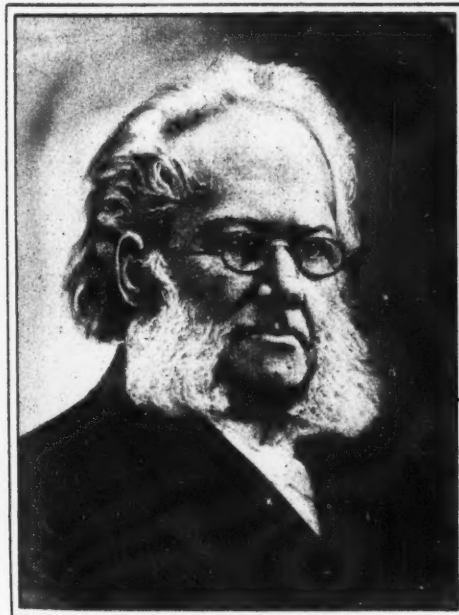


CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

Who died on April 5 in his 94th year

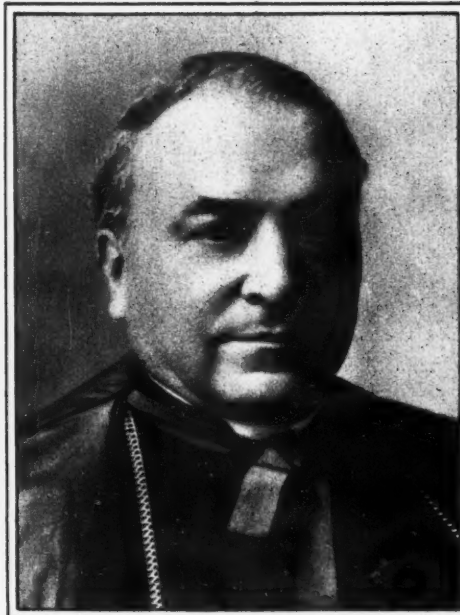


Times Wide World Photos
DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN
President of the World Zionist Organization, who is visiting America



HENRIK IBSEN

The Norwegian dramatist, whose centenary was celebrated in March



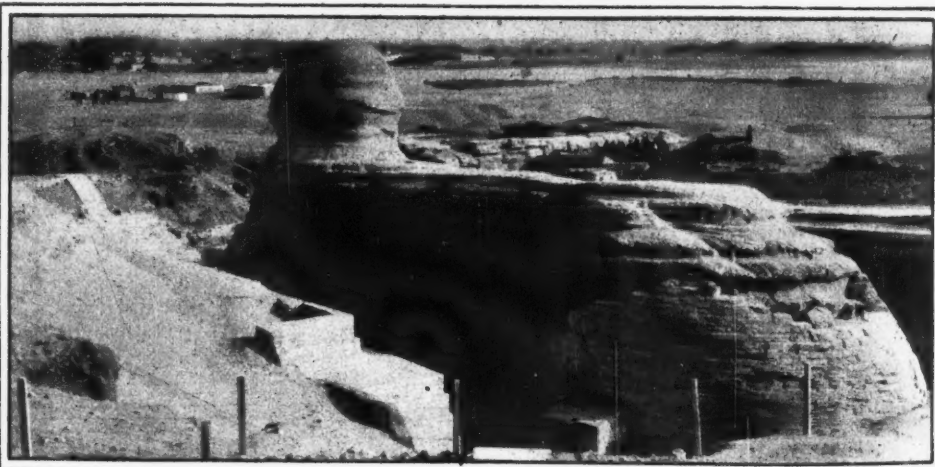
CARDINAL PIETRO GASPARRI

Pontifical Secretary of State

UNCOVERING THE MARVELS OF ANCIENT EGYPT



TOMBS OF A BYGONE AGE

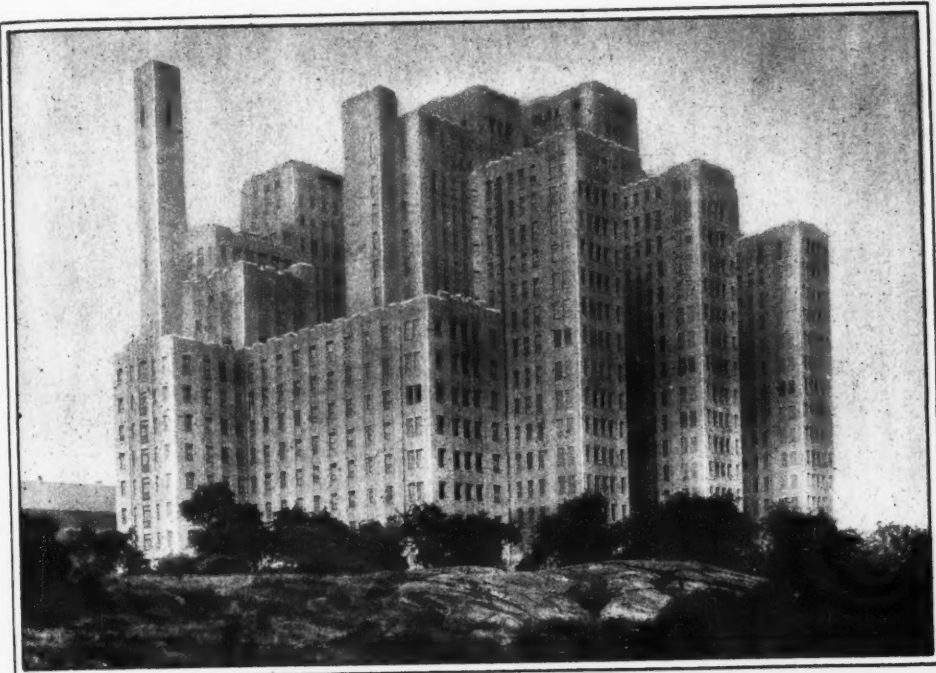


Times Wide World Photos

THE SPHINX AS IT IS TODAY

Recent excavations have brought to light still further evidence of the great and splendid civilization that long ago existed in Egypt. Above—Visitors returning from the tombs in the cliffs across the Nile from Luxor. Below—The Sphinx now wholly cleared of the desert sand that formerly hid a great part of it

NEW MONUMENTAL FEATURES OF NEW YORK

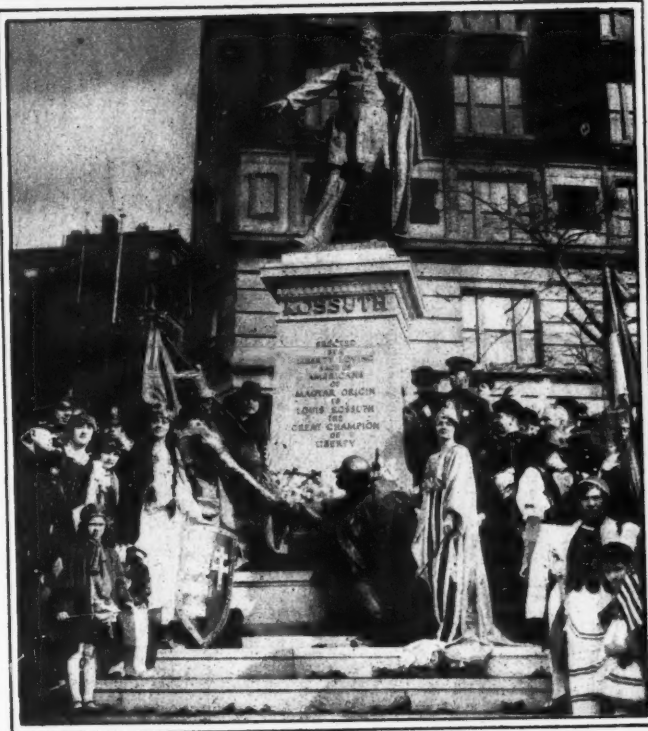


THE NEW
PRESBYTERIAN
HOSPITAL

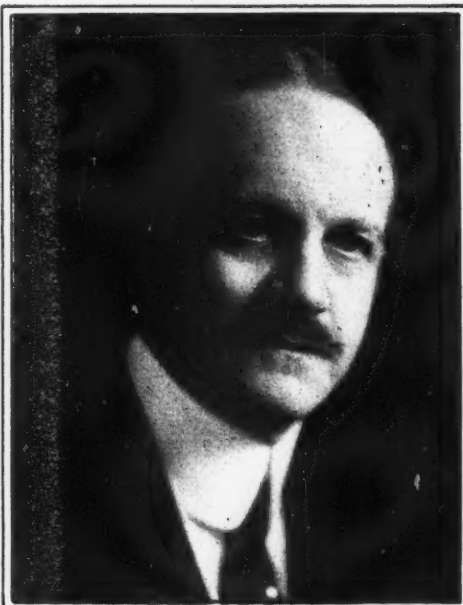
THE KOSSUTH STATUE

New York has recently received two notable additions to its art and architecture. The new hospital is the first unit of the Medical Centre, while the statue on Riverside Drive commemorates the great Hungarian patriot

Times Wide World Photos

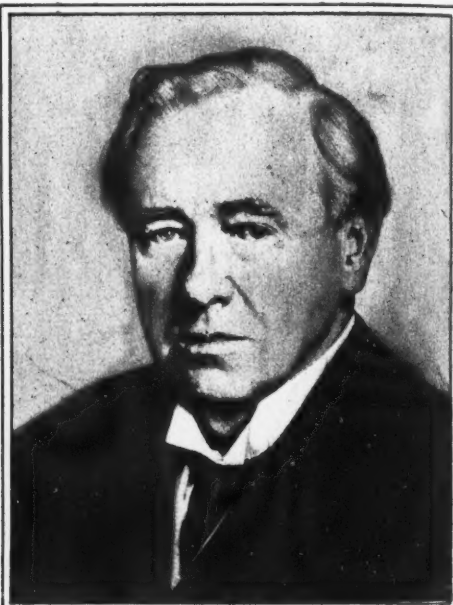


LEADERS IN THE DISARMAMENT DEBATE AT GENEVA



Harris & Ewing

COUNT VON BERNSTORFF
Germany



Keystone

LORD CUSHENDUN
Great Britain



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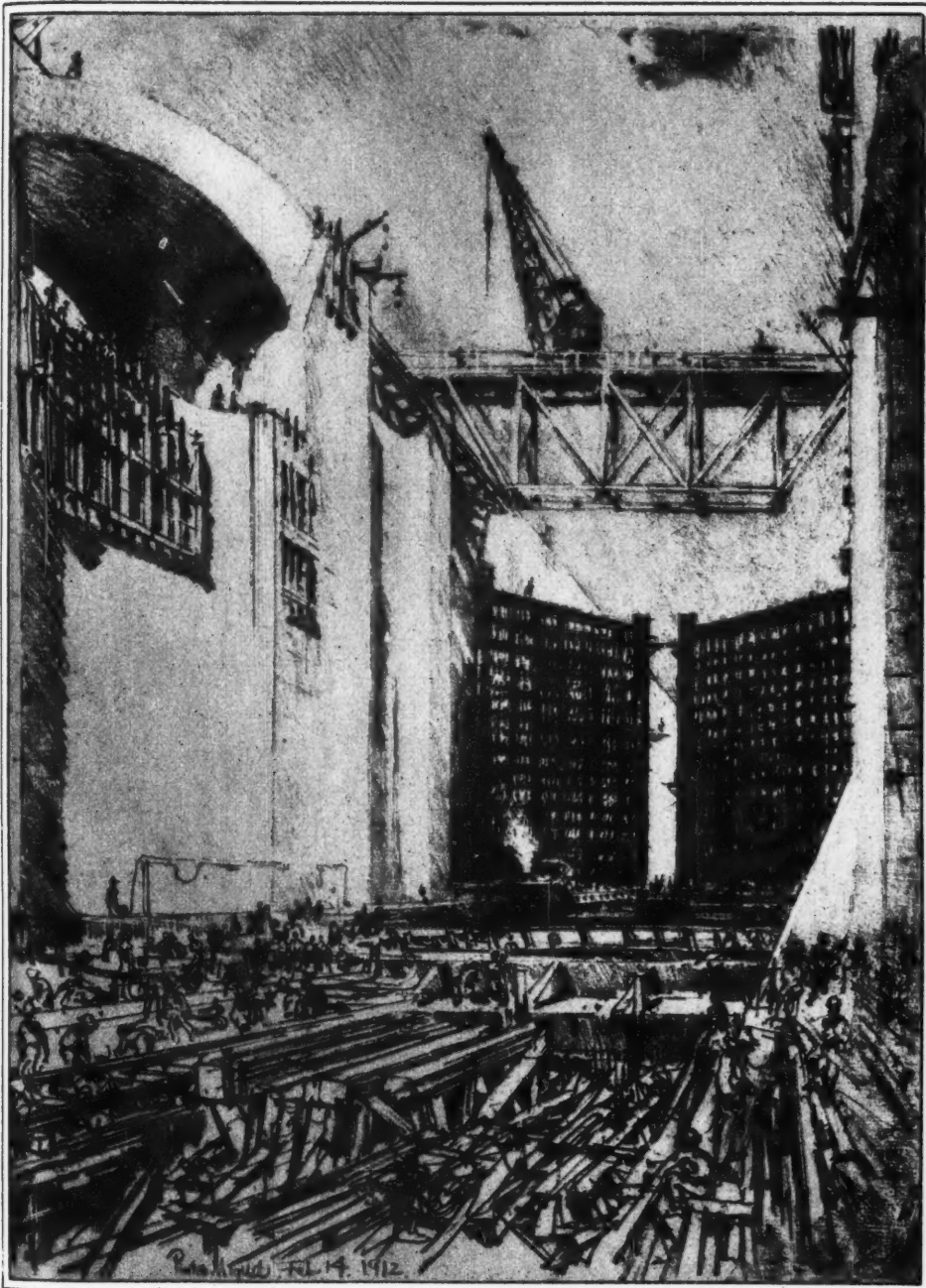
MAXIM LITVINOV
The Soviet Union



Times Wide World Photos

HUGH S. GIBSON
The United States

ONE OF GOETHALS'S LABORS AT PANAMA

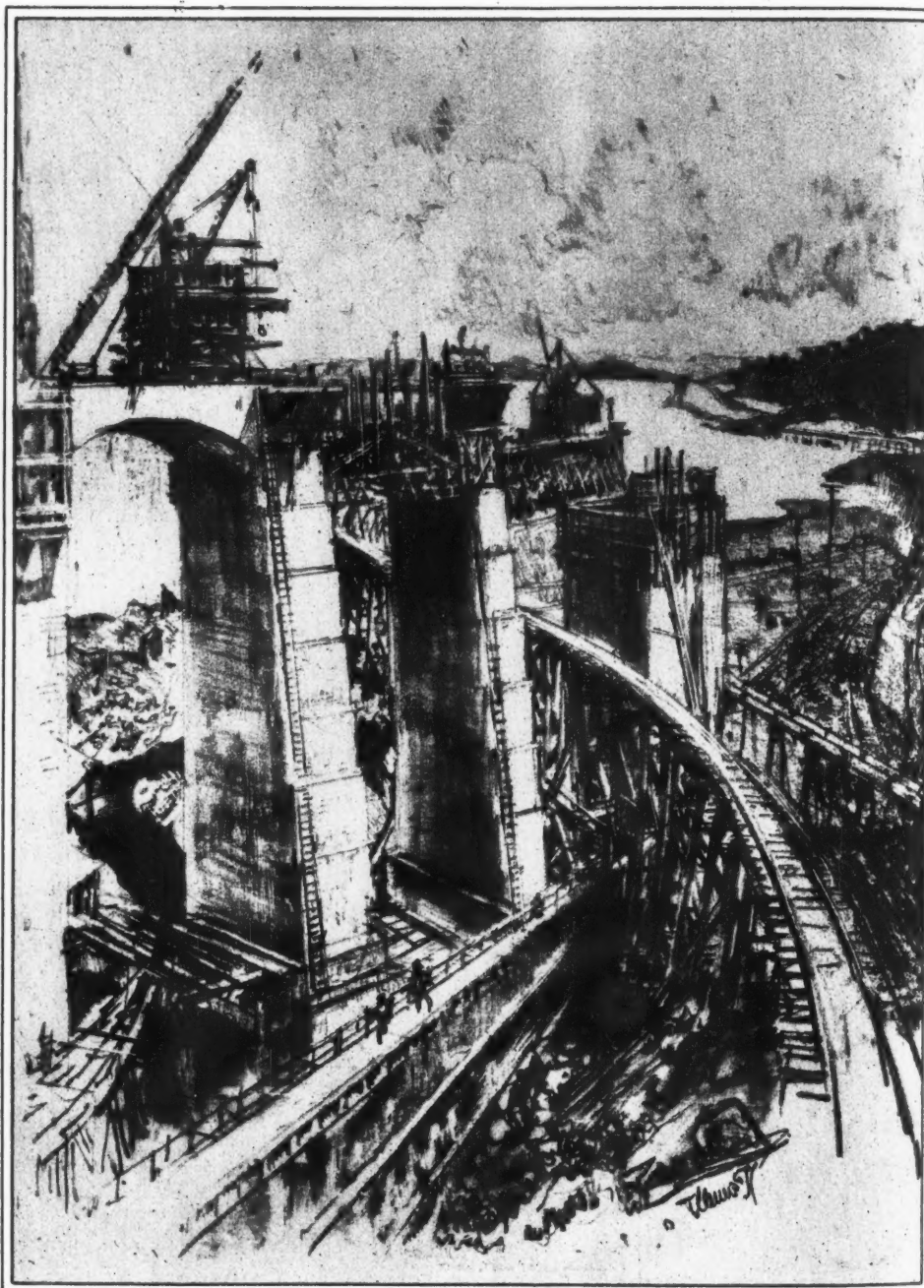


Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

BUILDING A LOCK

A reproduction of Joseph Pennell's lithograph of the building of the Pedro Miguel Lock, illustrating the article on the builder of the Canal in this issue

GOETHALS'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENT



Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

GATUN LOCK

A reproduction of Joseph Pennell's lithograph of the approaches to Gatun Lock during the building of Panama Canal (See article in this issue)